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HINDU NOBILITY UNDER THE MUGHALS - 1526-1627

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this is a genuine and bonafide work, composed by the candidate and submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History as per the requirements of the Marathwada University, Aurangabad.

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PREFACE

The object of the present study of the nobility under the first four grand Mughal Emperors is to discuss and assess the role of the Hindus in general and the Kachhwahas in particular in the establishment, expansion and consolidation of the Mughal empire. An attempt has also been made to explain the nature of opposition to the Mughal rule particularly of the Sisodias. Among the Hindus the Kachhwahas of Amber and adjoining areas played a dominant role in the early phase of the empire and they almost completely monopolised the higher positions and mansabs. Kachhwahas have, therefore, been selected for the detailed study.

Nobility is used in a broader sense, besides the Mughal grantees the study the study includes the landed aristocracy which actively or passively resisted the Mughal encroachment on their freedom and privileges and also of such elements among the Hindus who completely identified themselves with the empire and supported it from within and without. It is a living account of the passionate resistance of the Sisodias against one of the mightiest empires, well in conformity of the glorious traditions established by Rana Khamba and Rana Sanga and of the mad rush of the lesser but pragmatic Rajput leaders to secure imperial favours.

The author has taken the liberty of explaining the various processes of change in the character, composition and organisation

of nobility and the rise and fall in the fortunes of the leading Rajputs families by focussing the attention of the reader on the important personalities of the age like Man Singh, Bhagwant Das and Bharahmall who played the lead in the dramas of their times.

A qualitative and dramatic change in the composition of the ruling classes and the nature and character of the state during the reign of Akbar was an outcome of continuous quantitative changes in the preceding century, particularly after the break up of the Sultanat. A detailed analysis of the response and reaction of the Hindu middle classes and the aristocracy towards the new opportunities thrown up by Akbar's liberal policies remained a desired area of research. Akbar took the Amber family in service in 1562 and abolished jazia in 1564 but the Rajputs started joining him only after 1571. Initially they joined the Mughals out of compulsion rather than ^{for} Akbar's liberal policies. Once the advantages of Mughal alliance were known, there was scramble for mughal mansabs.

All the major houses of Rajputana except the Ranas of Udai-pur had joined the Mughals under Akbar and actively participated in the expansion and consolidation of the empire. It was, however, in the reign of Jahangir that a major break through was achieved in the policies laid down by Akbar—submission of the Sisodias and fall of Nagarkot along with the inclusion of the ruling houses of Jammu, Himachal and Bundelkhand in the official nobility by award of mansab to them. This policy was later extended to the Deccan and Marathas were also included among mansabdars. The object of the

about them but authors like Abul Fazl, Nizamuddin, Jahangir and Bodaoni who wrote after 1590 have given detailed accounts of even minor events related to the Kachhwaha princes. The Kachhwahas strengthened their position in the empire between 1580 and 1592, and in 1592, the stage was set for their spectacular rise. By the end of Akbar's reign they had emerged as the largest and the most powerful group among the Rajput nobles.

After the accession of Jahangir, the other Rajputs generally improved their position but there was a definite decline in the fortunes of the Kachhwahas. The decline in the mansabs of the Kachhwahas who belonged to various samindaris like Narwar, Deosa, Khandela and Sambhar did not effect the importance of the house of Amber whose chiefs continued to exercise influence and power.

An attempt has been made for the first time to provide the yearwise percentage distribution of mansabs of the Rajputs and related families under the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir in this work. A clear picture of the rise and fall of the various family groups and their comparative position in the Mughal empire emerges from such a study.

Our main source are Persian official histories and private memoirs and chronicles like Akbarnama, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Muntakhabut Twarikh and Iqbalnama. The information is supplemented from biographical accounts like Maasirul Umra, Tazkaratul Umra, and Zakhiratul Khwanin. Modern works like Umra-i-Humood are also consulted.

State Archives of Rajasthan, Bikaner have a large collection of framin, nishan etc. but only few of them are relevant to our period of study.

The Rajput sources have been written on the basis of vague memories and provide hardly any valuable information. Nand's Khayat and Vigat constitute a different class and are most valuable. Khayat of Patalpatha though limited in scope is also a very reliable work. Rajput sources are critically examined in an appendix, particular mention is made of Geneological Table and Jaipur Vanshawali.

The Rajput historian falls broadly in two catagories - 1. Romantic, 2. Official. Among the romantic historians Tod, Jwala Sahai and Farhati may be included and among the official historians Ojha and Shiamaldas are most prominent. While the former have exclusively depended upon the bardic literature, the latter have utilised the Persian sources also. Ojha and Shiamaldas have all the qualities of a good court historian.

Major controversies are discussed in Appendix C. The author has utilised in the present study his earlier works also and except in the appendix, has avoided comments on the contemporaries.

I am immensely grateful to Dr. P.V. Ranade, my Supervisor and guide who took keen and personal interest in my work and spared long hours of his precious time in going through the script several times. I find myself short of words in expressing

present study is to explain this process and also to explore the reason of the rise of the Rajput kingdoms like those of Amber, Jodhpur and Udaipur under Jai Singh, Jaswant Singh and Raj Singh respectively to great power and position. The foundation of their greatness was laid during the reign of Jahangir who practically gave up the policy of creating mansabdars from amongst the feudatories of the Rajput chiefs.

A considerable amount of work has been done on the lives of the Mughal rulers and princes and also on some of the important nobles, including Raja Man Singh of Amber. Such works, however, do not give a clear picture of the significant role played by some of the important families in the political dramas of the later medieval period. There were families whose rise and fall was associated with a particular ruler. Akbar's foster relations thrived during his rule and Nurjahan's family played a domineering role during the reign of Jahangir but the Kachhwahas, like other Rajput families, held their ground with varying fortunes till the end of the Mughal rule. A study of the families who played key roles in the politics of the country would facilitate our understanding of the contemporary political situation. The present study is a modest attempt in this direction also.

The Kachhwahas had begun to play decisive roles in the military expeditions, particularly after 1580, but they did not catch the popular imagination until Man Singh's conquest of Orissa. The contemporary writers (who completed their writing before 1590) like Arif Qandhari, Bayazid Bayat and Abu Turab, write very casually

my gratitude to him.

I also express thanks to the officers and staff of the State Archives of Rajasthan, Bikaner, of Kota, Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, Palace libraries of Udaipur and Jaipur who extended all possible help to me.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written
by me and submitted to the Marathwada University, Aurangabad
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INTRODUCTION

Islam was introduced to some pockets on the western coast of India by Arab traders who had been carrying on trade in these regions long before the advent of Islam and in the wake of an Arab invasion of Sind led by Muhammad bin Qasim in 712. Muhammad bin Qasim and his successors established a powerful kingdom which now comprises the greater part of south-west Pakistan. This kingdom survived till the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the thirteenth century, first as a province of the Omayyad and Abbasid caliphates and later, as independent kingdoms ruled by a 'heretic' Muslim sect.

The Arab occupation of Sind had its own distinct characteristics that enable one to distinguish it from the Delhi Sultanate. Islam was, till then, open to adjustments to meet new situations; the four schools of Islamic law had not been codified. The Arabs, in the best traditions of caliph Umar, established military camps in the larger cities and left the civil administration in the hands of the authorities who were exercising such functions prior to their conquest; nor did they curtail the privileges enjoyed by Brahmins in the earlier reigns. It would be of interest to note the instructions of Hajjaj bin Yusuf, the Governor of Basra, to the administrators of Sind:

It appears that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanabad had petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Budh and pursue their religion. As they have made submission and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can properly be required from them. They have been taken in our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives and property. Permission is given to them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden and prevented from following his own religion. They must live in their own houses in whatever manner they live.

The Muslim kingdom of Sind inherited Arabic culture from the conquerors, and not the Iranian culture as was the case with the Mughal empire. Arabic left a marked imprint on the language of Sind, both in script and content.

Many Arab travellers visited Sind, and have left a record of their visit. They agree that the relations between Hindus (they did not use the word kafir but gimmi) and Muslims were friendly, and there was a ban on cow slaughter. Hindus and Muslims took keen interest in each other's religion. As early as 886, under the patronage of a Hindu raja, a linguist of Mansura translated the Quran into the local language. In fact, after the political relations with the Abbasid caliphate were severed, the Arab kingdom of Mansura (Sind) and Multan became an integral part of the political system of the sub-continent, with the difference that the political authority rested there with the Muslims whereas the rest of the country it was exercised by the Rajputs.

The Arab influence on India was, however, limited to a comparatively small part of the country. It was in the eleventh century that almost the whole of western Pakistan and parts of Indian Punjab were annexed to the Ghaznavide empire by Mahmud, who attacked several places in India, between 1000 and 1026 A.D. to acquire wealth and recruit woldiers who would help him fulfil his ambition of carving out a powerful empire in Central Asia. The Ghaznavides soon lost their Central Asian possessions and their Indian kingdom with its headquarters at Ghazni and later at Lahore became, like any other Rajput state, a part of the Indian scenario. This Muslim kingdom of

the Punjab had an important bearing on the subsequent history of India. It was the (Persianised) Islam, represented by the Turks, which dominated the political and social scene in India for centuries. Hindus were freely employed by Mahmud and his successor, Masood, both as officers and men. Half of Masood's army which fought at Kirman consisted of Hindus. Sewand Rai and Tilak were commanders of the highest rank.

Muslims all over the world, no doubt, professed their faith in Allah, Prophet Muhammad, and the holy scripture, the Quran, but local customs and rituals, besides intellectual movements, had become a part of the Faith and had been accepted as such. Islam, thus, acquired some regional characteristics. The unity of the believers or the concept of millat was more^r myth than a reality from the very beginning, of Islamic history, and despite Islamic concept of equality of believers there emerged master races as well as subject peoples. The universal Islamic State under a caliph was nothing more than an idea, and the Islamic world was divided into several kingdoms, big and small, very often fighting among themselves. These kingdoms received or exhorted recognition from the feeble Abbasid caliphs or took recognition for granted. Inspired by the Sassanid traditions, they also associated an element of divinity with the institution of monarchy. It was during this period that the religious and political unity of Islam witnessed a complete collapse, and a new basis of loyalties to race and culture became more pronounced. Firdausi represented the typical sentiments of the Muslims who were culturally Iranis. In the Shahnama, he takes pride in the great sassanid heroes of the pre-Islamic period. He glorifies the pagans like Jamshed, Afrasiab

and Rustam and deplores the Muslim-Arab conquest of Iran. His references to Muslim Arabs who attacked Persia for the glory of Islam are hardly complimentary. Indeed the entire Persian literature and culture of this period represent a strong revival of pre-Islamic Sassanid traditions. Despite the collapse of the religious and political unity of Islam, there remained, however, some kind of a vague identity among the believers. The basis of this identity was the Quran. All the religious sects and intellectual movements drew inspiration from the Holy Book. Muhammad was the ideal person who was to be emulated in every detail. Divine, absolute monarchy was accepted as the only practical form of government; yet the Republic of Madina remained the ideal. The Persian language was the language of the Muslims of the east, but Arabic continued to command veneration and advanced religious studies were imparted in Arabic even by non-Arabic speaking peoples.

In the last quarter of the twelfth century there arose another power in the rugged mountains of Firozkoh in Afghanistan. Muhammad Ghuri established himself at Ghazni driving the last of the Ghaznavides to Lahore in 1178. With Ghazni as his base, Ghuri launched a series of military campaigns against Indian rulers, both Hindus and Muslims, for thirty years. Between 1175 and 1186 he destroyed and annexed the Muslim kingdoms of what is Pakistan, and in a series of attacks, he and his officers conquered almost the whole of northern India and established the Delhi Sultanate.

Iltutmish, by his modesty, and Balban by his despotic ruthlessness, gave a firm footing to the Sultanate. Contrary to Islamic

ideals, the Sultanat was modelled on Sassanid pattern by Balban. He raised the status of the sultan to a very high pedestal. He introduced Sassanid fashions and festivals, gave Persian names to his sons and grandsons, and compelled his proud Turkish and Tajik officers to perform sajdah before him. The pre-Islamic sassanid tradition thus introduced, became a part of the political and social life in the succeeding period of Indian history. Ziauddin Barani, a historian and political jurist of the fourteenth century complains about these innovations. He wrote:

In all that the kings do concerning necessary rules (umex) of kingship - the way in which they eat, drink wine and wear their royal robes, the manner in which they sit, get up, and go out riding, the order in which they sit on their thrones and compel the people to sit and perform the prostration (sajdah) before them - they follow with their hearts the customs of the Kisras (Persian Emperors), who were rebels against God. In all their dealings with the people of God they claim superhuman status (fard) for themselves; this too is opposed to the teaching of the Prophet, it is a claim to partnership in the attributes of God and a cause of damnation in the next world.

The Albaris or the 'slave rulers were replaced by another Turkish tribe, the Khiljis. The second Khilji sovereign Alauddin was a pragmatic ruler. He not only completed the process of annexation and consolidation of northern India, began by Aibak and Iltutmish, into a well organised and powerful kingdom by his successful campaigns in Gujarat and Rajasthan, but also extended the political influence of the Sultanate to the far Deccan. Ultimately, Deccan was formally annexed during the reign of Ghayasuddin Tughlaq and his son Muhammad. The political and administrative system of the sultanate did not extend beyond the walls of well-known towns where they had established military garrisons.

Rural India was divided into villayats (provinces) and iqtas (revenue assignments) where the military commanders, if they had sufficient military strength to do so, collected revenue or tribute from the Hindu zamindars or rajas, without interfering in local affairs. Alauddin was the first Muslim ruler who tried to extend the administrative machinery to the village level by measuring the cultivated land and appointing government officials to collect revenue, but the hold of the zamindar class on the villages remained unshaken. The political control of the sultans of Delhi over the whole of India was not uniformly effective. The greater part of India remained under the zamindars and the rajas who occasionally paid tribute to the Sultan or his representative.

The Delhi Sultanate was in the beginning a state which was dominated by the Central Asian Turks and Tajiks; the Turks occupied all the senior military positions while the Tajiks dominated civil appointments to the exclusion of new aspirants, the Hindu converts and non-Turkish immigrants. As time passed, with the expansion of the administrative network, and peaceful colonisation, new elements were added to the nobility, and the ruling class acquired a cosmopolitan character in the fourteenth century. The Hindu rajas continued to enjoy semi-independent status and Hindu traders had complete monopoly of inland trade. The foot-soldiers, and the clerical staff in the revenue department, were supplied by the Hindu community, while the official nobility was almost exclusively Muslim.

Although a few Hindus occupied higher positions under the Tughlaqs, quantitatively their number was insignificant if we consider the number of Muslims occupying similar positions at that time.

Muslims could effectively rule such a large empire without taking Hindus into the higher services because the rise of the Mongols in Central Asia and the large scale massacre and destruction of the centres of Muslim civilization created a political situation, in which no individual there was safe from purposeless and gruesome violence. This situation lasted for over two centuries and drove a large number of princes, statesmen, administrators, scholars, poets and saints, in successive generations from their homelands in Central Asia and Iran to India where they were welcomed and readily employed. The continuous flow of these Persianised Muslims into India kept the Indian Muslims, the nobility, in particular, and the urban Muslim population, in general, Persianised. This retarded the process of assimilation and integration, but at the same time kept the Sultanate healthy and strong.

Though there were frequent dynastic changes at the capital, the Delhi Sultanate provided a stable organisation of government and apparatus of justice. It protected its subjects against lawlessness and the people could follow their pursuits with comparative ease. It reopened and maintained trade routes and gave a new impetus to internal and external trade, facilitating the growth of industry and handicraft and resulting in the growth of towns and monetary economy. The Delhi Sultanate achieved stability and restored peace and order because it reduced the power of the Rajput warlords while retaining the age old institutions of caste, professional guilds, administration of justice by the caste brotherhood (biradri) and above all, the institution of zamindars, pattadars, mugaddams and chowdhries. Thus, above the existing socio-economic structure, with slight modifications, the Delhi Sultanate created a superstructure consisting of walis and iqadars; a class of people who were entirely dependent upon the pleasure of the Crown. The superstructure rested

on the personal power of the monarch and the strength of his allies. Such a structure could collapse at any time if there was a weak ruler on the throne of Delhi, as it did after the death of Firozshah of the Tughlaq dynasty.

The hundred and fifty years preceding the establishment of the Mughal empire under Akbar constitute a very interesting period of Indian history. The central authority, under the later Tughlaqs, the Saiyyads, the Afghans and the early Mughals was unable to check the growth of tiny new kingdoms. Independent states were established in Kashmir, Bengal, Gujarat, Khandesh, Rajputana, Orissa and in the Deccan. Though dynastic in character, the new kingdoms, most of which were ruled by Muslims, symbolised to some extent, the growing regional loyalties broadly based upon vernaculars in various parts of India. There was better understanding among the various religious communities; the Sufi and the Bhakti movements had brought the people together. Farishta records that Hindus and Muslims had friendly relations. The Muslim rulers took keen interest in the religion of their subjects. The Mahabharata and Ramayana were translated into Bengali under the patronage of Sultan Husain Shah who ruled over Bengal between 1493 and 1518. Similarly Zainul Abedin of Kashmir ushered in a new era of better understanding among his subjects by the abolition of jazia and by employing Pandits in higher positions. In the wake of the Bhakti movement, the country witnessed a cultural upsurge. Regional languages, music, architecture, painting and other forms of art which constitute the basis of any culture began to develop and acquire regional characteristics. It was in this period that definite cultural patterns began to evolve in various regions. But before these cultural regions could fully develop, and cultural identity lead to political identity, they were absorbed by the mighty Mughal empire. These

regional kingdoms became the basis of the new suba administration of the Mughals and thus constituted a link between the loosely administered iqta or wilayat of the sultans of Delhi and the effectively controlled suba of the Mughals; and paved the way for liberal administration of Akbar.

The Delhi Sultanate came into being after the shariat was codified and the doors of innovation or reinterpretation of laws were closed for ever. The codified law, specially that of Hanafi, met to a considerable extent the changed situation in the Persianised world, but India presented a new situation where the Muslims remained in minority. 'Under these conditions', remarks Prof. M. Habib, 'the wise kings adopted a policy of compromise and moderation. They paid lip service to the shariat and admitted their sinfulness if they were unable to enforce any of its provisions; they kept the state controlled mullahs disciplined and satisfied; over the whole field of administration, concerning which the shariat is silent or nearly silent, they made their own laws, and if the traditional customs of the people were against the shariat, they allowed them to override the shariat under the designation of urf. The state laws, called, qawabit, grew under the protection of the monarchy. If these laws violated the shariat, the principle of necessity or of istihsan (public good) could be quoted in their favour. And the back of the shariat was proken for the primary reason that it had provided no means for its own development'. While the shariat derived its authority from the Quran and the Traditions, the primary interest of the Sultanate was the security of the state and public good; hence the shariat and the state administration drifted apart. Some rulers like Firoz Shah attempted to enforce the shariat, but its application remained vague and superficial. In its outward form the Delhi Sultanate appeared

to be theocratic, but in essence and practice, it could hardly be called so. The very concept of kingship is alien to Islam. The State Ulems were instruments of the sultans to consolidate their hold over the Muslim masses, and they were not, normally, allowed to interfere in the working of the state. The king appointed and dismissed the Ulems, and they were prepared to please the king even at the cost of misinterpreting the law. The Shariat reduced the status of the sultan to that of an executive officer, who was expected to maintain peace and order and enforce the law, - a position which the sultans of Delhi were never prepared to accept.

Akbar's policy of universal tolerance was the result of various political experiments. In the beginning of his reign he married a Rajput princess in 1562, abolished the pilgrim tax in 1563 and the poll tax on Hindus in 1564, and recruited the Rajputs of Amber into the state service. These measures might have evoked considerable admiration for the young emperor among the Hindu masses, but failed to create any impression on the Rajput ruling class. After establishing himself firmly on the throne he decided to humble the most honoured Rajput dynasty of the Sisodias and the strongest citadel of Rajputana, the fort of Chittor. In 1568 Chittor fell to the superior Mughal army. The fall of Chittor demonstrated to all in Rajputana that there was no mightier power than that of Akbar. Within five years of the fall of Chittor the proud Rajputs, except the Sisodias, submitted to Akbar without reservations. The magnanimous Akbar received them with affection and respect. The terms offered to the Rajput rajas were far liberal and advantageous than those of the subsidiary alliance of

Lord Wellesly. According to these terms the Rajput rajas could rule over their territories without any interference on the part of the emperor or his officers; there would be complete freedom of worship; the rajas, their sons, relatives and retainers would join the imperial military service for which they would get extremely high salaries; the rajas, under the protection of the Mughals, would not wage war against one another. The rajas were also told that it would be greatly appreciated if they would give a daughter, or a sister in marriage to the reigning sovereign. This, the so called 'Rajput policy' of the Mughals was later extended to the leading zamindars and the ruling families all over the empire and particularly to areas which were not easily accessible. Rajasthan, however, continued to occupy primary place. It would, therefore, be proper to term the 'Rajput policy' as the policy towards the landed aristocracy. This policy was pursued till the last days of the Mughal empire.

At about the time Akbar was waging wars in Rajputana, he toyed with the idea of assuming the leadership of the Muslims of Hindustan, which manifested itself in the famous declaration, the Mahzar, which gave Akbar a higher status than that of the interpreters of law, the muftahids. This declaration was in perfect harmony with the principles of Islam and was signed by all the leading theologians. But the theoretical limitations that the proclamation set on the royal authority soon became evident. Muslim public opinion also reacted unfavourably, and Akbar soon gave up the idea. A fatwa of a dozen theologians could not add to or set limitations on the powers of the emperor who derived his authority directly from God and who was theoretically responsible to none but God. Akbar's experiment

ended up in a consistent policy of universal toleration which was followed, in its essence, by the Mughal emperors. Co-existence, cooperation and mutual understanding which had emerged in India, long before the reign of Akbar, now manifested themselves at the political levels as well. The higher military and civil officers did not remain the monopoly of the Muslim ruling class. The Hindus, specially Kayasthas and Brahmans, secured high offices in the revenue department, at the centre and also in the provinces; Rajputs led the Mughal armies and also governed Mughal provinces.

It was during the reign of Akbar that the nobility became comparatively broadbased. Hindu rajas and zamindars, big or small, who had been, ever since the beginning of Turkish rule, a part of the establishment and represented the state in their own territories were enlisted into higher position. Brahmans and Kayasthas, who also worked as local officials under the Delhi Sultanate, were given provincial and imperial responsibilities. The Shaikhs and Saiyyeds, who formed a small fraction of the Hindustani Musalman community, were considered fit only for praying for the health of the sultans on a paltry pension, or were recruited for the education and judicial departments; under Akbar and his successors they were given civil and military positions. Thus, besides the Turanis and Iranis, who were traditionally the ruling group, Akbar introduced a Rajput and a Hindustani Musalman group, and thus created a balance among the ruling sections. Akbar with the help of his new allies, reorganised the state machinery with such thoroughness that no subject could escape the heavy hand of the centralised administration. The land was measured, assessment methods were revised and the local administration

was geared up with the result that the revenue was collected most efficiently to meet the expenses of the wars of expansion, the glamorous imperial household and the high salaries of the officials.

Muslims in India laid great emphasis on the education of their children. Education was imparted by individuals and private bodies, and sometimes by government institutions. Handsome subsidies were provided by the state, the nobility and the merchant class to private educational institutions. Most of these institutions provided elementary education. For advanced studies, madrasas or colleges were set up by the state or wealthy individuals. Two major colleges, Muizzia and Nasiriya were established fairly early. The courses of study were traditional, laying great emphasis on the teaching of religion and literature; education in the practical sciences like mathematics, astronomy and medicine was also imparted. These institutions, which were the seat of Muslim orthodoxy, were also responsible, to a great extent, for the regimentation of the 'Muslim' mind. Scholars and teachers proceeded with the assumption that the great writers of the classical Arab period and the great imams of the 9th and the 10th centuries had perfected the sciences and the law. Conformism, which strengthened both the orthodoxy and the state, was strictly enforced at the intellectual level. Free-thinking was discouraged, and philosophy became taboo. Orthodoxy could not completely suppress the inquisitive mind and there were several philosophers; but most of them fell a prey to another kind of conformism, the new platonism; or they were attracted towards sufism which had become a part of the established social order and in which, too, conformity of a kind was demanded.

Persian-Indian literature drew inspiration from Iran and Central Asia but there were many Muslims who represented the blending of Indian and Central Asian traditions too. Among poets, Amir Khusro and Faizi are the best representatives of this synthesis. Indian writers on medicine felt that Greek medicine did not completely suit the constitution of Indian natives, and that some of the herbs prescribed by the masters were not available in India. The first notable medical treatise appeared in 1329, written by Zia Muhammad. This work was based on Indian and Arabic sources. And in this work, Indian counterparts of Arabic medicines and prescriptions of Hindu physicians were also given. Another important work which represents the blending of the two systems appeared in the reign of Sikandar Shah Lodhi. This treatise, entitled, M'dan ush Shafa-i-Sikandar Shahi was compiled by a leading noble, Bhuwah bin Khawas Khan. He based his work on Sanskrit sources. Similarly, there appeared several works on anatomy, the diseases of elephants, birds, horses and other animals and their treatments, etc. In the treatises on animals, the Muslim authors fully utilised the knowledge available in Sanskrit works. They were in most cases translations of the earlier Sanskrit treatises rather than independent works.

Medieval India, specially the Mughal period, can be compared to any society in terms of richness of culture. The Muslim contribution in the fields of architecture, painting, music, literature and science is fairly well-known. It enriched Indian culture by freely borrowing from the Persian, Central Asian and Chinese traditions. In some of the paintings the impact of Renaissance art is also

apparent. The synthesis in the field of art was effected with such harmony that Mughal art acquired its own individuality. Mughal art had a profound impact on regional Indian art.

The abstract Muslim God could hardly appeal to the Muslim masses, most of whom were either converts or the descendants of converts from Hinduism. But they found spiritual solace in Sufi saints who could, according to popular belief, perform miracles, cure diseases and secure fulfilment of desires. Saint worship, though popular all over the Muslim world, assumed far greater importance in India. The Khanqahs of the living or the dead saints attracted the Muslim and Hindu masses in large numbers. Among the various sufi orders, the Chishtis were most popular in India. The Chishti order was founded by Shaikh Mo'inuddin Chisti, the disciple of Khawaja Usman Harooni. Shaikh Mo'inuddin was born in Seistan in 1143 and came to India little before the invasion of Muhammad Ghuri in 1190. He stayed for some time at Lahore and Delhi and finally settled at Ajmer during the reign of Prithviraj. Among his main disciples Qutabuddin Bakhtiar Kaki and Khawaja Fariduddin Masood Ganjshakar played important role in popularising Islamic mysticism in northern India. Nizamuddin Aulia was another eminent saint of this order. He was born in 1236 at Badaun. He established himself at Delhi in 1258 and soon his khanqah became an important seat of religious and social activities; the rich and poor, Hindus and Muslims gathered there to seek the blessing of the saint.

The Sufi saints, specially the Chistis, besides imparting instructions in the intricacies of mysticism, were aware of their social responsibility of bringing the various religious communities

of their region closer by preaching that love alone could ensure spiritual bliss. Nizamuddin emphasised that 'the followers of tarikat (way) and haqiqat (reality) agree that the main purpose and objective of man's creation is the love of Supreme Being'. He explained that 'Human submission (ta'at) is of two kinds: 1.necessary; and 2.communicable. The necessary submission implies benefit to the person who offers prayer, fasts, goes on pilgrimage and recites the name of God and praises Him. But communicable submission implies doing good to others. It consists of such virtues as affection, kindness and benevolence to others. The reward of these is infinite'. He asked his disciples to do their best to comfort somebody, or enable a broken hand to reach the bread. In one of the Khilafatnamas, he says, 'O, Muslims! I swear by God, that He holds dear those who love Him for the sake of Human beings and also those who love human beings for the sake of God'. Reform of the people (tasih-e-Millat) and detached service of man (tajridekhidmat) were considered by him ~~were considered by him~~ high virtues.

The Sufi emphasis on service to humanity without reservation had an important bearing on the social life of the country as a whole. The conquest and consolidation of 'Muslim' rule in India was a process which took several centuries to accomplish and generated hatred between the conqueror and the vanquished. But there always was a Sufi or a Bhagat to heal the wounds of war. The Sufis, detached from the state, kept alight generation after generation, the lamp of love and brotherhood in India. They carried the message of love to all parts of the country. Shah Sirajuddin Usmani (d. 1357) and Alauddin Alaul-Haq (d.1398) preached in Bengal, Sheikh Burhanuddin

Gharib (d.1340) made Maharashtra his home. Shaikh Saiyed Husain imparted his message in Gujarat, Khawaja Saiyed Mahmood Gesudraz implored people to live in peace in the Deccan while Shaikh Nasir-uddin Chiragh and many others spread the message of love in northern India. Apart from the Chisti order all the other important Sufi schools were also represented in India. Bahauddin Zakaria of Multan who was an outstanding mystic, belonged to the Suhrawardi order.

Ibn-ul-Arabi's concept of the Unity of Existence found great favour with the Sufis of India. The identity of the creator and the created and the belief that there is nothing but God, though this was repugnant to orthodox Muslims, were preached by the Sufis. Such concepts created the necessary atmosphere for congenial relationship among the various religious communities of India. Abul Fazl wrote an inscription for a temple in Kashmir which manifested the practical aspect of these concepts:

O, God in temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every
language I hear spoken people praise Thee.
Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee.
Each religion says Thou art one without equal;
If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer and if it
be a temple people ring the bell from love of Thee.
Sometimes I frequent, the Christian cloister, Hindu temple
and sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.
Thy elect have no dealing with kufr and orthodoxy for
neither of them stand behind the curtain of Thy Islam (truth).
Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox.
But the dust of rose petal belongs to the heart of perfume,
Seller.

The liberal interpretation of the religion by the Sufis and their contact with the Hindus gave rise to several syncretic sects in India, both among Muslims and Hindus, many of the Muslim saints, real or imaginary, like Pir Zahir Gungah, Pir Syed Salar Masood, Lal Shahbaz, were identified with Hindu gods. Syed Ahmad, popularly known as Sultan Sakhi Sarwar is considered semi-divine by some tribes of the Jats who are known as Sultani or Sarwariya. They hold a fair in his honour at Dhunkal every year and eat meat slaughtered according to the Muslim rite. Among Muslims, syncretic sects were no less numerous. Malkanas have retained Hindu names, they worship at Hindu temple for personal ceremonies and greet each other in the Hindu fashion, but they bury their dead like Muslims, practise circumcision and pray the usual prayers in the mosque. Many Muslims of Bengal worship Krishna and Durga; Churiharar worship Kalka Mai; Siansi, Magti, Lalchi and Mirasis worship Durga Bhawani. The Meos still worship minor Hindu deities and their social customs and ceremonies are like those of the Hindus, Shaikh Mohammed of Maharashtra asked his disciples to go for pilgrimage either to Mecca or Pandharpur (in Maharashtra). The Khoja branch of the Ismaili sect led by Sadr-uddin regarded Adam and Ali as the avatars of Vishnu, and Muhammad as Mahesh. Madaris, a syncretic sect, founded by a Syrian Badiuzzam Shah Madar, in the sixteenth century, became quite popular, specially among the lower classes and the women. The Madaris borrowed a number of practices from Yogis. They refused to cover themselves with cloth and smeared their body with ashes instead. They beat themselves with chains, practised celibacy and most of them refrained from eating meat. Like yogis they took intoxicants, e.g. bhang. There were several sects among them. Hindu influence upon the Muslim masses, was tremendous, Jahangir complained that some Muslims in Jammu

practised Hindu rituals. Such evidence is widely available. Except for the urban Muslim elite, the Indian Muslims had developed their own version of Islam, no doubt with regional variations, and the Indian Islam was knocking at the door of the elite too. Akbar and Dara were the devout exponents of Indian Islam.

The ulema who were considered to be the champions of Islam and exercised reasonable control over the affairs of the state never bothered to put down the heretic or the syncretic movements.

They closed their eyes to the pagan practices of the Indian Muslims. They were more concerned about maintaining their authority over the state, and whenever a movement, heretic or puritanic, had some political overtones and threatened their authority, they soon mobilised the state machinery to ruthlessly suppress them, as they did in the case of the Jaranites and the Mahdavis.

By the end of the sixteenth century the foundation of a composite, harmonious and culturally rich society had been created where 'stress was laid on individual, not on the group; on the heart and inward attitudes, not on outward institutions; on personal warmth, not impersonal system; on God, not a structured 'religion'. The attempt towards synthesis, cooperation and integration was evident in every facet of life; in literature, music, architecture, painting, philosophy, etc.

Presence of a fairly large number of Persian knowing Hindu karkunan from pargana level administration to imperial government and also in the establishments of the nobles meant such a class among Hindu already existed before Akbar's period. But their presence

even in large number did not create any dramatic or lasting impact on the society. One Man Singh or one Todarmal at the top of Mughal administration accompanied by the policy of Sulh Kul created a far greater and lasting impact on the people of this country that Akbar became a legend in his lifetime and is still remembered along with Ashoka as a just and wise king. The Mughal empire under his leadership was successful though in a limited sense in integrating the country emotionally also. This makes the Mughal empire qualitatively different from the Sultanat.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abdul Aziz	- <u>Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army.</u>
Ain	- Blochmann <u>Ain-i-Akbari.</u>
A.L. Srivastava	- <u>Akbar the Great.</u>
A.N	- Abul Fazl, <u>Akbar Nama.</u>
Arif Qandhari	- <u>Tarikh-i-Akbari.</u>
Badaoni	- <u>Muntakkabut Twarikh.</u>
Bayazid	- <u>Tazkira Humayon wa Akbar.</u>
Bhakkari	- <u>Zakhiratul Khawanin.</u>
Blochmann	- <u>Ain-i-Akbari.</u>
Farid Bhakkari	- <u>Zakhiratul Khawanin.</u>
Farhati	- Mohammad Obaidullah Farhati, <u>Tarikh Tuhfat Rajasthan.</u>
Farishta	- <u>Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi.</u>
G.N. Sharma	- <u>Mewar and the Mughal Emperors.</u>
Hawkins	- <u>Early Travels in India.</u>
Iqbalnama	- Muatmad Khan's <u>Iqbal nama-i-Jahangiri.</u>
Jwala Sahai	- <u>Wicquaya Rajpootana.</u>
Kewal Ram	- <u>Taskaratul Umra.</u>
Khafi Khan	- <u>Muntakhabul Lubab.</u>
Maasir	- <u>Maasirul Umra.</u>
Maasir-i-Bahimi	- Abdul Baqi Nihavandi
Mirat-i-Ahmadi	- English translation M.F. Lokhandwala.
Nizamuddin	- <u>Tabaqat-i-Akbari</u> (English Translation)
Nurul Haq	- <u>Zubdatul Twarikh.</u>
Prasad	- <u>Raja Man Singh of Aimer.</u>
Qandhari	- <u>Tarikh-i-Akbar Shahi.</u>

- Shah Abu Turab Wali - Tarikh-i-Gujarat.
- Shahnawaz - Maasirul Umra.
- Tod - Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.
- Tuzuk - Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. English translation Rogers and Beveridge.
- Umra-i-Hunood - Munshi Mohd. Saeed Ahmad.

CHAPTER I

THE KACHHWAHA RESPONSE: 1526-1578

Rajput constituted a small minority in the northern and central India. From the Punjab to Bengal, and from Himachal to Vindhyaachal they lived in villages and towns in varying strength. Very often the Rajput tribes lived in blocks where only one tribe dominated. They were rural based elite known as zamindars. Multitude of martial tribes controlling the rural India were collectively designated as Rajputs during the early Mughal period. India like always was ruled by the minority. The Rajputs were the dominant community in each division - a Shiq, Iqala, Pargana, Tahsil or a Jagir. No ruler however great or resourceful could afford to ignore such a powerful group. Each Sultan, Illutmish to Akbar had to struck some kind of a compromise with them. The dynasties changed after ruling gloriously or ingloriously for varying periods. So did the rural aristocracy. There were ups and downs in the fortunes of clans and tribes. Zamindars became ordinary peasants and new group of people acquired the status of zamindars. Upwards and downwards social mobility continued through out the centuries in medieval period, but their position as masters of the countryside remained unchanged. In the Brahmo-Gangetic plain, where they were numerous, exposure to military towns of the Turks, and their inability to unite made them ineffective. But the Rajputs of Rajasthan, Gondwana, Suvarashtra, Bundelkhand and Himachal, on account of the strength of the topography, hardly

even submitted to the sultans. They were ^{over}run over again and again by the Turkish armies obliging them to seek shelter in the desert or in the glens but they soon emerged to take possession of their ancestral thikhanas. Greater threat to their liberty and small worldly possessions did not come from the sultans of Delhi, Ahmadabad or Malwa but from their own kinsmen, the brother Rajputs. In the early medieval period the Bhati, Parmar, Parihar and the Solanki waged unending wars which continued for generations for supremacy in Rajasthan. Later the establishment of the Delhi Sultanat reduced the area of conflict. The Rathods driven away from the Gangetic plain found fertile grounds for their ambitions in Rajasthan. It became a playground for the ambitious and warlike Rajput tribes cutting each other's throat. The Solankis fought against Parmar, Parmar against Bhati, Parihar against Chauhan and Rathod against all of them and also among themselves.

By the time Babar came to India the political scene in Rajasthan had completely changed. The Sisodias of Mewar led by Rana Sanga had established his complete hegemony over more than one hundred Rajput clans and tribes of Rajasthan. He had successfully measured his sword with the rulers of Malwa and Gujrat and the imperial Agra too was threatened.

The Afghan defeat at Panipat in 1526 at the hands of Babur further strengthened the position of Rana Sanga. The defeated Afghans led by Ibrahim Lodi's younger brother Mahmood

and Hasan Khan of Mewat assembled at Chittor which inspired the Rana to block further progress of the Mughal arms. Soon after the death of his adversary, the ruler of Gujarat, he started making massive preparations for an encounter with Babur. The Rana was keen to engage the Mughal invader before he could consolidate his position or the Afghans disperse in despair. The Rana collected his levies from the vassals and allies and met Babur at Khanua in 1527 and lost to Babur in the last of the great battles fought by the Rajputs. Thereafter they displayed greater valour, selfless sacrifice and perhaps shed more blood of the enemy and their own in far greater battles fought not for a Rajput but for the Mughals.

The Rajput chiefs belonging to the famous Rathod, Kachhwaha, Chauhan and Bhati tribes retired to their homes after they lost at ^RKhanua. Rana Sanga's superior military power had forced a temporary unity upon the Rajputs and once the Rana lost prestige and power the Rajput chiefs not only refused to adhere to his call for giving another battle to Babur but expressed open hostility towards him. Rana's hegemony over Rajasthan was not very pleasing for other Rajput Chiefs. There was loss of freedom and in some cases loss of territory also without corresponding material or emotional gain. Babur's victory at Khanua was the death knell of Sisodia supremacy in Rajputana paving way for another struggle for hegemony among the important houses. This time it was Maldev of Marwar who unleashed the sword of violence upon his neighbours. His first victims were the Bhatias of Jaisalmer. Maldev seized Bikampur and extended his frontiers beyond Satalmir and Pokharan, and forced a humiliating treaty upon the Bhati ruler, Lonkaran.

Besides ceding certain territories Lonkarn had to part with his beloved daughter Unade who was taken away by Maldev as wife but she lived a virgin all her life. The Bhatias were made to join Maldev's army to participate in his wars of aggression. Maldev's axe next fell on Mewar. He went there as a friend but occupied greater part of young Rana Udai Singh's territory. Maldev was also notorious for his debauchery. The chiefs kept their daughter hidden from his lustful eyes.¹ After humiliating Jaisalmer and devastating Mewar he fell upon the Kachhwahas and over ran Shaikhavati and occupied Amarsar. He ousted the Chauhans from Deodwana, drove away the Shaikhavats from Jhunjun and Qaimkhanis from Fathpur. Maldev further extended his dominions capturing Jalore from the Afghans, Sivana from Jaitmolot and Sanchor from Chauhans. One of the most atrocious deed of Maldev was driving away of his own clansmen, the Rathods of Bikaner and Merta , and occupying their lands.²

1. Maldev had married a daughter of Raojait Singh Jhala. After a few years he visited his father-in-law where he saw the beautiful younger sister of his wife. Maldev demanded the girl then and there. However, with great difficulty and persuasion the poor father managed to secure two months time for the preparation of a proper wedding. Immediately after Maldev's departure Jait Singh Jhala escaped to Kumbhalmir and gave his daughter in dispute to the Young Udai Singh in marriage. Maldev's fury knew no bounds at this turn of events and he ravaged the country of the Rana. Ojha, Rajputana ka Itihas, vol.II,pp. 716-18; Reu, Marwar Ka Itihas, vol. I, pp. 118-19;

2. For details see Ojha, vol.II, p.685, 716-718; Reu vol. I, p. 115-126, 152, 242; Tod, p. 851; Naisi, Khayat vol.I, pp. 126-127, 156, 253.

The lecherous, treacherous Maldev dominated over Rajasthan for more than a decade till Sher Shah brought an end to his schemes of aggrandisement of the Jodhpur Kingdom at the cost of other Rajput chieftains. Sher Shah may be more treacherous than Maldev but in Rajasthan he was fair. He annulled the annexations of Maldev and the old families were restored in their ancestral kingdoms where they were allowed to rule in peace.

The Afghans were the most powerful and organised military force at the time of Babur's invasion, their defeat at Panipat had only dispersed them. They organised themselves under the banner of Rana Sanga but again they were beaten back, but soon they started organising themselves in the east. Confrontation with the Rajput was the last thing Babur would attempt as long as the Afghan military presence threatened his security. He was more than happy at the retirement of the Rajput chiefs to their homes after the battle of Kanua. His attack on Chanderi was not directed against the Rajputs but was a part of his master scheme against the Afghans. In fact he offered a Jagir of equivalent value to its ruler in exchange of Chanderi but the suicidal instinct in Medni Rai led to confrontation and ultimately complete annihilation. Babur was satisfied at the annexation of eastern Rajasthan from Alwar to Biana and the submission of peaceful Kachhwahas of Amber and Shaikhavati. Humayun too followed the policy of detached neutrality in Rajasthan as his hands were too full elsewhere and there was no threat to the security of his

kingdom from that side. Even when invited by Chittor he preferred to be a silent spectator of the conflict between Bahadur Shah and the Rana of Chittor.

The aggressive policy of Maldev brought Sher Shah to Rajasthan. He reduced Maldev to pulp. Kalyanamal dispossessed by Maldev was given back his kingdom. Merta was restored to Bairam Dev another of Maldev. Rao Surtan Hada who was driven away by Maldev was allowed to rule over Bundi. Similarly the Rathods were also restored their territories by Sher Shah.¹ The policies of Sher Shah, the powerful neighbour of Agra and Maldev another powerful neighbour from Jodhpur stood in clear contrast in respect of their policies in Rajasthan. It was therefore not a great surprise when exactly after three decades when Rana Pratap fought the famous battle of Haldighati the Rajput chiefs either sided with Akbar or kept themselves away.

Sizeable number of Hindus particularly the Rajputs collaborated with the sultans of Delhi. Even before Babur came to India we come across several references to Hindus serving under the Lodis. Raj Singh Kachhwaha² was a trusted officer of Sikandar Lodi. Rai Ganesh³ held the iqta of

1. As no 2 on preceding page

2. A.P. Pandey, The First Afghan Empire in India, Calcutta, 1956, p. 143.

3. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol. I, p. 315, hereafter Nizamuddin.

Patiali, Kampala and Bhogaon, Prem Dev¹ held the iqta of Meerut and Bikramajeet held the iqta of Shansabad. Beside these officers a large number of soldiers and officers were employed by the King and his nobles.²

The involvement of the non-Muslim further increased during the second Afghan empire. Sher Shah was considered a deliverer by several Rajputs chiefs who secured their homes through his help. He kept a large number of them in his service including the Khagakhail. Sher Shah's successors also maintained very good relations with the Rajputs. Haji Khan, the Afghan governor of Mewar, Alwar and Nagor, was at happiest terms with the Rathods and Kachhwahas. The rise of Hemu to the position of supreme commander of the Afghan forces and their willingness to fight under the command of a kafir was a clear indicator that much water had flown through the Ganges and things have changed for the better. When Akbar initiated his policy of positive secularism, they were accepted by the mass of people without much resistance. The Kachhwahas led by their leader Bharamall were the first among the Rajputs to join Akbar and gave them full support in all his measures except Din-i-Ilahi.

1. Abul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhabut Twarikh, Calcutta 1868, vol. I, p. 314, hereafter Badaoni.

Abdul Baqi Nihavandi, Maasir-i-Bahini, Calcutta, vol. I, p. 506, hereafter Maasir-i-Bahini.

2. Abdullah, Tarikh-i-Daudi, pp. 70-74; Nizamuddin, vol. I, pp. 338-339; Rizullah Mushtaqi, Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi, British Museum, add. 11633, f. 63a.

The Kachhwahas, before their alliance with the Mughals, were a non-entity among the ruling tribes of Rajasthan. They had occupied the rich eastern plains of Rajasthan and were exposed to the attacks of the rulers of Agra and Delhi. Amber, their principality, was very often under vassalage of the one or the other of its powerful neighbours. Our knowledge of the early history of the Kachhwahas is primarily based upon the Rajput accounts which were compiled during and after the seventeenth century. These accounts are to be utilised with great care. Dr. Prasad¹ has given a summary account of the earlier rulers of Amber. This account is mainly based upon the Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur. Truly speaking their genuine account begins with the advent of the Mughals. Raja Prithviraj is the first ruler of Amber whose name has been recorded in a near contemporary account.² He seems to have joined the more powerful Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar. He,

1. Rajiv Nain Prasad, Raja Man Singh of Amber, Calcutta, 1966, pp. 1-4, hereafter Prasad.

2. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, vol. III, Calcutta, 1887, p. 606, hereafter A.N.

Prasad, p. 3.

He became the ruler of Amber in 1502 A.D. Although Dr. Prasad has said that with the accession of Prithviraj to the throne of Amber, the long period of stagnation came to an end and the state of Amber entered into an era marked by 'brisk political activities', but there is nothing on record to support this contention. Dr. Prasad himself, has not mentioned any activity of the Raja except that of producing several sons, of whom only twelve attained, and who constituted the famous twelve kotri or the chambers of the Rajawat Kachhwahas.

adult hood

as an unequal ally of the Rana, participated in the battle of Khanua. When the battle was at its hottest, an arrow struck the Rana and made him unconscious. The unconscious Rana was removed from the battlefield by Raja Prithvi raa, Rao Maldev of Jodhpur and Rao Akheraj of Sirohi to a safer place.¹ Prithviraj did not live long after the battle and died in November, 1527. He was succeeded by Puranmal, his eldest son, to the gaddi of Amber.

After the death of Sangram Singh of Mewar, Rajasthan returned to its normal political life where each Rajput prince elected its own course of activity. Humayun had assigned the territories of Alwar, adjoining Amber, to Mirza Hindal. Puranmal seems to have attached himself with the Mirza. In May 1536, taking advantage of the discomfiture of the Mughals in Gujarat and the absence of Humayun from the capital, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his son Ulugh Mirza, attacked Bilgram. Mirza Hindal, who was looking after the affairs of the capital in the absence of Humayun, collected his forces and the levies of the vassals which also included Puranmal and his contingents and gave them a battle and expelled them from the imperial territory. But in the process Puranmal the Kachhwaha chief, was killed in a battle.⁵ This was the first Kachhwaha casualty in the cause of the Mughals. The greatness of the Kachhwaha house

1. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, Udaipur, MS. f. 142a. Vide G.N. Sharma, Mewar and the Mughal Emperors.

2. A.N., Vol.III, p. 606.

was built at the cost of the lives of thousands of the brave Rajput soldiers of various tribes, and of the several princes who were either killed in the action or died during their active service far away from their homeland.

With regard to the death of Purnamal and the problem of the secession, Dr. Prasad has introduced some new elements which require a careful examination. He states:

"Raja Prithviraj was succeeded by his eldest son Raja Purnamal on Kartik Sudi 12, V.S. 1584, i.e. 20th November 1527 A.D but his accession to the throne was not liked by the second brother Bhim Singh, who, therefore, conspired against the life of Raja Purnamal. Raja Bhim Singh was successful in his nefarious attempt. Raja Purnamal was murdered on Magh Sudi 5, V.S. 1590 i.e. 13th February, 1533 A.D. After six years of rule he was succeeded by Raja Bhim Singh on Magh Sudi 6, V.S. 1590 i.e. 14th February, 1533 A.D.

"Raja Bhim Singh could rule only for about three and a half years, i.e. from Magh Sudi 6, V.S. 1590 or 14th February, 1533 to Saravna Sudi 15, V.S. 1593 or 16th August, 1536 A.D. The reason of the short tenure of his rule is shrouded in mystery. Tod explains that one parricide was punished by another and that Askarn, a son of Bhim, was instigated by his brother to put their father to death and to 'expiate the crime by pilgrimage'. Let us try to find out the identity of this brother of Askarn alleged to have instigated the latter. The

Geneological Table in Jaipur Archives tells us that Raja Bhim was succeeded by Raja Ratan Singh who ascended the throne of Amber on Bhado Budi 1, V.S. 1593, i.e. 17th August 1536 A.D. and ruled till Jyestha Sudi 8, V.S. 1604, i.e. 11th June 1547 A.D. This fact has also been mentioned by Nancy. But the Table does not indicate whose son Raja Ratan Singh was. Nor is the name of Ratan Singh to be found amongst the nineteen sons of Prithviraj as mentioned in the Geneological Table in Jaipur Archives or in the list given by Nancy. Therefore, it may safely be concluded that Raja Ratan Singh was the son of Raja Bhim and it was ~~it was~~ he who instigated his brother Askarn to murder their father. After the murder of Raja Bhim Singh, the throne of Amber was usurped by Ratan Singh, who ruled for about 11 years.

"Kaviraj Shyamal Das has stated that Raja Ratan Singh was murdered by Askarn, another son of Raja Prithviraj. But Askarn was not the son of Prithviraj. His name is not to be found in the Geneological Table. Askarn was actually the son of Raja Bhim Singh. He was greatly displeased with Ratan Singh ever since the latter ascended the throne of Amber because Askarn was himself an aspirant for the throne and with this end in view, he had murdered his father, Raja Bhim Singh. But he was outwitted by Ratan Singh, who snatched the throne for himself. This treachery was not forgotten by Askarn who by a secret conspiracy succeeded in getting Ratan Singh murdered on Jayantha Sudi 8, V.S. 1604, i.e. 11th June, 1547 A.D. Askarn could rule only for a fortnight. The Geneological Table indicates

that he ruled from Jayesth Sudi 8, V.S. 1604 or 11th June, 1547 A.D. to Asarah Budi 8, V.S. 1604 or 25th June, 1547 A.D. The cause of this very short tenure of rule has been mentioned in 'Nancy's Khyat'. It has been stated that Askarn adopted the son of his brother-in-law (i.e. wife's brother), in open darbar and this was not liked by most courtiers. One day while Askarn was away on pilgrimage to the Ganges they made Bharamal ascend the the throne of Amber.....on Asarah Budi 8, V.S. 1604 or 25th June, 1547 A.D.¹"

Dr. Prasad has missed a very important passage in Akbarname which throws considerable light on the death of Puranmal, and has picked up only the latter half of Tod's passage dealing with the ancestors of Man Singh, and has also, by mistake or otherwise, made the plural, brethren, a singular, brother, which has resulted in a great confusion. To straighten the matter the passages in question are placed before the readers.

Abul Fazi writes:

"One of the occurrences was the death of Raja Goverdhan, the son of Raja Askarn. Raja Prithviraj was the head of the Kachhwaha clan. He had eighteen sons of whom ten were by one mother. When he died, Puranmal his eldest son, was raised to the throne. He was killed in Mirza Hindal's battle (end of May 1536). Suja his son was young and they raised his brother Ratan Sai to the headship. He, from the turbulence of the youth and

1. Prasad, Raja Man Singh of Amber, Calcutta, 1966, pp.4-6.

bad companionship, insulted men. Some instigated Askarn, his half brother, to secure the headship by killing him, and with the help of the wicked men the objective was realised. For some time things happened according to his (Askarn's) wish. In a short time his uncle (?) Bharehmall obtained power. His sons His sons were always lying in wait for Askarn. Karan, in revenge for his ancestor, chose to become Askarn's servant and on 3rd (1592), when he got an opportunity, he killed the Raja's son in his father's presence and then made an attack on the Raja. A pillar saved him from harm...."¹.

Colonel Tod says:

"But even this (pilgrimage to Debul, near the mouth of Indus) could not save him (Raja Prithviraj) from the foul assassination, and the assassin was his own son, Bhim, 'whose countenance (says the chronicle) was that of a demon'. The record is obscure, but it would appear that one parricide was punished by another, and that Askarn, the son of Bhim, was instigated by his brethren to put their father to death and to 'expiate crime by pilgrimage'. In one list these monsters are enumerated amongst the 'annointed' of Amber, but they are generally omitted in the geneological claims, doubtless from a feeling of disgust"².

Tarikh Tuhfah-i-Rajasthan also agrees with the Annals.³

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 606.

2. Col. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, vol II, London, 1957, pp. 285-286.

3. Muhammad Ubaidullah Farhati, Tarikh Tuhfah-i-Rajasthan, Udaipur, 1889, pp. 243, 248.. hereafter Farhati. The author writes that Raja Prithviraj was killed by his son, Bhim, who was regarded to be insane. But Bhim too was killed by his son Askarn who after some time, killed himself in penance.

After a careful examination of the evidences cited by Dr. Prasad and the above two passages, the history of the Kachhwahas can be reconstructed with some degree of certainty. Prithviraj was killed by his son, Bhim Singh while he was away on a pilgrimage. Prithviraj was succeeded by his eldest son Puranmal, who, as described above, joined the Mughals and was killed towards the end of May, 1536, not by an assassin, but in the action on a battlefield. There is a gap of about two and a half months between the death of Puranmal and the accession of Ratan Singh. During this brief period Bhim Singh seems to have ruled the state. The claim of Suja, the elder son of Puranmal, was set aside by his uncles, making the minority of Suja¹ an excuse for their selfishness and greed. They did not accept the claim of Bhim Singh even and quarrelled among themselves.² Abul Fazl does not mention the name of Bhim Singh among the rulers because he ruled for a very short period. It is said that Bhim Singh was removed from the scene by assassination by his own son, Askarn. The guilt of patricide was so heavy upon the mind of Askarn that he ended his life in Harwar.³ Askarn, the son of Bhim Singh might be a real person but he must not be confused with Askarn, the son of Prithviraj, who joined the imperial service under Akbar and became a high ranking amir. After the murder of Bhim Singh his younger brother Ratan Singh (Sahai), who was perhaps senior to Bharahmall, ascended the gaddi of Amber. Ratan Singh was acknowledged as their leader by the surviving brothers. He ruled peacefully for over a decade.

1. A.N., Vol.III, p. 606.

2. Farhat, p. 248.

3. Ibid., Tod, p. 237.

Dr. Prasad has tried to establish, without any evidence, that Ratan Singh was not a brother of Bharamall but that he was the son of his brother, Bhim Singh. This, in the presence of the statement of Abul Fazl, quoted above, cannot be accepted. Moreover Abul Fazl writes that Suja's claim to the gaddi of Amber was disregarded on account of his minority. How can we believe then that the sons of Bhim, who was younger in age than Puraamal, would be old enough to 'instigate' and 'murder' their father?

Ratan Singh became unpopular and some people instigated Askarn, his half brother, to kill him. Askarn, in order to become the chief of Amber, killed Ratan Singh. Dr. Prasad is again misled on account of his reliance upon the Rajput sources alone for the genealogy of the princes of Amber when he states that Askarn was not the son of Prithviraj but that he was the son of Bhim Singh, the son of Prithviraj. In the presence of overwhelming evidence of the Persian chroniclers¹ Dr. Prasad's contention is not tenable.

Askaran ruled for a very short period. He was soon ousted by his elder brother, Bharamall, who made himself master of Amber on June 25, 1547². Askarn who had murdered his half brother for the gaddi of Amber would not let Bharamall rule it

1. A.N., Vol.III, p.606, vol.II, Calcutta, 1881, p.155. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, vol.II, English Translation, p.608; Munshi Muhammad Saeed Ahmad, Unra-i-Humood, Kanpur, 1910, p.51; Shiamal Dasji, Vir Vinod, vol.II, p.1275. Abul Fazl has clearly written that Askarn was the half brother of Ratan Singh and Ratan Singh was the younger brother of puranmal. Abul Fazl's excessive use of pronouns and the 'effected brevity' has caused considerable difficulty in the understanding of this passage. It is also possible, as Beveridge thinks, that the text is corrupt.

without a contest. He secured the support of the powerful Afghan leader, Magnad-i-Aala Haji Khan, the governor of Mewat, Ajmer, Nagor and Jodhpur. Haji Khan mustered a large army against Bharahmall.¹ This was the most serious crisis in the career of the Raja. But he knew his way and Askarn was again outwitted by his more unscrupulous and clever brother. Haji Khan was won over by Bharahmall by offering his daughter in marriage to him². Haji Khan confirmed Bharahmall on the gaddi of Amber, and Askarn was compensated by the award of the territory of Narwar which remained in his family for a long time. Bharahmall continued to enjoy the protection and friendship of Haji Khan for as long as the latter had effective power in Rajasthan. Bharahmall must have learnt that the matrimonial alliance could be of a great advantage.

With the re-conquest of India by Humayun and the fall of Haji Khan, the long repose enjoyed by Bharahmall came to an end. It was a period of great trial for the Raja but he rose to the occasion. He remained with his son-in-law, Haji Khan, till his final exit from Rajputana, but at the same time he sought Mughal alliance very eagerly. The death of Humayun once more, encouraged the Afghans. Haji Khan attacked Narnaul which had been assigned by Humayun to Majnun Khan Qaqshal³. The fort was

1. Nancy's Khyat, vol. II, p.13, n.

2. Muhammad Kabir, Afsana-i-Shahan, British Museum MS.Add. 11,633, F.178a.

3. A.N., vol.II, p. 20.

besieged with such vigour that the besieged were compelled to seek quarter. It was at this stage that the Raja intervened, took possession of the fort himself without bloodshed, and sent Majnun Khan to the court with due respects. Later, when Tardi Beg, the Mughal governor of Delhi, came to chastise Haji Khan, the fort of Harnaul was handed over by the Raja to Tardi Beg¹. The friendly attitude of the Raja made a favourable impression on the Mughal officers and Majnun Khan represented the case of the Raja's 'support and great loyalty' to Akbar². Akbar summoned the Raja to his court. The Raja visited Akbar soon after his victory over Hemu. Akbar was pleased to confer the dress of honour upon the Raja, his sons and other relatives. At the time of his departure, Akbar was mounted on a must elephant which in a state of intoxication was rushing in several directions by turns, driving the people away, but when it approached Bharahmall's men, they stood firm like a rock. This pleased the king and raised the Raja's prestige³.

Bharahmall lived in peace at Amber under the Mughal protection. Bharahmall's position, as the ruler of Amber, was lowered by the creation of twelve kotris by his father where each of his brothers or their children ruled as petty rulers⁴. Moreover Suja, the son of Puranmal, the lawful heir to the saddi

1. A.N., vol.II, p.29.

2. Ibid., p.45.

3. Ibid.

4. Farhati, p. 243.

of Amber, had not reconciled to Bharamall's usurpation. Mirza Sharafuddin Husain who had acquired great influence at the court through Maham Anga, and had married Akbar's sister, Bakshi Banu Begum, became the governor of Ajmer, Nagar and Mewat in 1561. The Mirza was a very ambitious and unscrupulous person. Suja, who was waiting for an opportunity, immediately allied himself with the Mirza, to secure his father's gaddi. Bharamall had faced a similar situation when in the beginning of his reign, his brother Askarn had brought Haji Khan, the Afghan governor of Ajmer and Nagar, upon him. He extricated himself by affecting a compromise with the Khan and Askarn. Now with the divided house Bharamall had neither the strength nor the will to resist, and he finally submitted to the Mirza, who imposed a humiliating settlement on the Raja and his brothers. He also took away with him Jagannath, the Raja's son, and one son each of his brothers Askarn and Jagmal. He planned to destroy the family¹. The Raja was sure that unless something miraculous happened nothing could save him from total destruction.

The Mirza was an adventurer and had no love for the people or the country. After quarrelling with his father he left Kashghar and came to India and joined Akbar's service. Akbar assigned him a jagir in Mewat. The ruthless Mirza had struck such terror in the neighbourhood of Amber that when Akbar, on his first pilgrimage to Ajmer reached Deosa, people vacated their villages and fled into jungles².

1. A.N., vol. II, p. 155; Prasad, p. 6.

Prasad has copied the name from Beveridge's translation of Akbarnama where it is wrongly written as Sharifuddin (Akbar nama vol. II, Eng. tr. p. 241). On the same page Prasad writes, 'Majnun Khan Qaksal, actively supported by Shuja, threatened the frontiers of the Raja's territories'. Majnun Khan Qaqshal in this case should be substituted by Mirza Sharafuddin.

2. A.N. Vol. II, p. 156.

The Raja had supporters among the Mughal officers (like Majnun Khan and Chaghtai Khan) but they were no match to the Mirza, and therefore nothing short of Akbar's intervention could save the Raja. It appears from the account of Abul Fazl that Akbar's meetings with Bharamall was not a chance meeting. Much preparations had preceded the interview. Chaghtai Khan prepared a case for the Raja and represented to the emperor that he was the head of the Kachhwahas who were a distinguished tribe of the Rajputs. The Raja, he added, was distinguished in wisdom and valour and had consistently been loyal and had done excellent service. He also reminded the emperor that shortly after his victory at Panipat the Raja had met him in Delhi. He further impressed upon the emperor the plight of the Raja and told him that on account of the highhandedness of the Mirza, the Raja was obliged to retire into the hills. He pleaded that the Raja be taken into imperial protection. Chaghtai Khan's pleadings bore fruit and the emperor agreed to receive the Raja in audience.¹

When the imperial cavalcade reached Sanganer (near Jaipur), Raja Bharamall and his relatives, except Bhagwant Das, his eldest son, who was left to look after the families, were introduced to the emperor by their patron, Chaghtai Khan. The Raja was comforted by the emperor. This was a God-sent opportunity for the Raja, because in his case it was then and there or never. Perhaps through Chaghtai Khan he expressed his keen desire to strengthen the bond of friendship and service between him and the emperor by offering his daughter in marriage to him.

1. A.N., vol. II, p. 155.

He had seen the advantages of such an alliance not long ago when he married off one of his daughters to the Afghan Chief, Haji Khan. Akbar also visualised the advantages of such a marriage and happily accepted the offer and gave leave to the Raja and Chaghtai Khan to go to Amber and make preparations for the wedding and he himself went to Ajmer. Mirza Sharafuddin came to wait upon the emperor at Sambhar. Akbar demanded the release of the Kachhwaha hostages so that the Raja 'might be entirely free from apprehension'. The Mirza delayed their release but Akbar issued a stringent order for the release of the hostages before he left Ajmer for Agra. The Mirza was obliged to surrender them to the emperor on his return march, at Sambhar.

Raja Bharamal's daughter was married to Akbar on the latter's return march, at Sambhar, in a befitting ceremony amidst great rejoicing. This was a great day in the life of the Raja. His son and nephews who had been captured by Mirza Sharafuddin were set free and his principality which was at the verge of extinction received imperial protection. The obscure little principality of Amber suddenly became prominent, and it was destined to play an important role in the politics of the country.

Raja Bharamal wanted the emperor to stay for some time at his residence so that his prestige goes up among his contemporaries, but since the emperor was in haste, he expressed his inability to do so. However, the Raja was given a high rank and was permitted to return to Amber, while his son Bhagwant das, his grandson Man Singh, and other relative joined the ranks

of the imperial servants and proceeded with the emperor to Agra.¹

Raja Bharahmall and his sons did not acquire important positions in the imperial court for almost a decade. It was only in 1572-73, during the Gujarat expeditions, that they came into limelight. Raja Bharahmall who had yet to consolidate his position at home² stayed most of the time at Amber and seems to have visited Agra only on the ceremonial occasions. During the first decade after the famous marriage, the Kachhwahas slowly but steadily rose in power and prestige. Bharahmall gained the confidence of the emperor so much so that in 1572, when Akbar left Agra for the conquest of Gujarat, he made him, along with Abdullah Sultanpuri, incharge of the capital, a position of great trust and responsibility. It was for the first time that a

1. Ibid., vol.II, pp. 155-157. Abul Fazl writes that she was the eldest daughter of Bharahmall. This is obviously wrong because Bharahmall had married off one of his daughters to Haji Khan about a decade earlier. Akbar's wife could not be older than Haji Khan's wife.

2. It appears that Mirza Sharafuddin was encouraged by Suja, Baharmall's nephew, Rupsi, Bharahmall's brother and Lonkarn, belonging to the Shaikhawat branch of the Kachhwahas. They seem to have attached themselves with the Mirza. Deosa was the headquarter of Rupsi and it was very close to Amber. While Bharahmall's son and his other nephews were taken as hostages by the Mirza, Jainal, Rupsi's son was spared. Moreover Jainal, Lonkarn and Suja seem to have joined the service of the Mirza because, they along with their contingents, constituted a division of the Mirza's forces which attacked Merta soon after the marriage (A.N., vol.II, p.162). Rupsi must have learnt about the moves of Bharahmall through Chaghtai Khan. It was perhaps on this account that he was reluctant to appear before the emperor at Deosa. Moreover Rupsi and Jainal never worked under Bhagwant Das or Man Singh.

non-Muslim was appointed to look after the affairs of the empire. Raja Bharahmall performed his duties with great confidence and wisdom and earned the respect and praise of his contemporaries. Munim Khan, the Khan Khanan, who was the governor of the eastern empire, was constantly asking for re-inforcement. Raja Bharahmall organised an army and dispatched it to support Munim Khan. It must have been a period of great strain upon the Raja. He had to organise and send another force under the charge of his nephew, Khangar, against Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who had separated himself from his brothers in Gujarat and had attacked the Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh. Akbar seems to have been much pleased with the Raja for the efficient management of the capital. He, therefore, again made him, along with Raja Todarmal, Shaikh Ibrahim, and others, responsible for the safety of princes and of the capital in August 1573, when he had to leave the capital on account of the disturbances in Gujarat.¹

1. A.H. Vol.III, pp. 35, 19, 43; Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, Vol.II, pp. 151, 154-55. The author of *Umra-i-Hunood* (pp.77-78) gives a graphical account of the Raja's activities as the incharge of the capital, he writes:

"When, in 979 A.H. (1572 A.D) Akbar proceeded towards Gujarat to chastise Ibrahim Husain Mirza, he left the Raja at Bathpur as his, *Nakil-i-Mutlaq*, deputy with absolute powers. Ibrahim Husain Mirza fled from there and came towards Agra. He thought that since the emperor with his army was wandering in the country of Gujarat and Surat he might attack and plunder Delhi, Agra and Lahore, which were famous and prosperous towns and housed the royal treasures. He further planned to settle wherever it was possible and if his plan came to nothing he would return to Gujarat via Multan and Sind.

"Raja Bharahmall anticipated the plans of the Mirza. He immediately sent armies to Delhi and other places and despatched letters (informing of the Mirza's arrival) to the nobles of adjoining places. He arranged matters in such a way that the Mirza met with disappointment wherever he went. The exasperated Mirza proceeded towards the Punjab. Hussain Khan Tukaria had already received Raja Bharahmall's letter informing him that Ibrahim after sustaining two defeats, was proceeding towards Delhi (the Raja) urged him to proceed to Delhi, the capital, which was defenceless. This brave lover of such adventures immediately marched on the receipt of the letter. Husain Quli Khan came from Kangra, with the result that the Mirza could not stay anywhere and was killed on his way to Multan. The emperor was immensely pleased with the efficient management of Raja Bharahmall".

The above story is based upon Badaoni's description of the Raja's activities.

Abul Fazl¹, Jahangir and other contemporaries speak very highly of Bharahmall. Jahangir gives him credit for surpassing every one else in his tribe in truth and sincerity of friendship, and in the quality of valour.² He laid the foundation of the greatness of the Jaipur state. He was a good organiser and a statesman of broad vision.

There is a difference of opinion about the year of Raja Bharahmall's death. Most of the writers place his death in 1569 because in 1570 a monument was erected at Mathura to the memory of his widow who committed satee³. But Dr. Prasad relying on the Genealogical Table has placed his death in January, 1573.⁴ We are told by Abul Fazl that Bharahmall was discharging his duties actively at the capital till August, 1573 and therefore both the dates are untenable. Although the author of Taskarat-ul-Umra places his death in the eighteenth year⁵, but there is a strong possibility of his living till the middle of 1574. On 15th June, 1574 Akbar left Agra for a campaign against Daud Khan. Bhagwant Das and Man Singh accompanied the emperor in this march⁶. But in the subsequent narration of the campaign the names of Bhagwant Das and Man Singh are not recorded, although the presence of their contingents in Bihar is established.⁷ It can safely be concluded that Raja Bharahmall was alive till 15th June 1574 and died shortly after Akbar's departure. Bhagwant Das and Man Singh seem to have been permitted to leave to join their families on this sad occasion while their contingents were retained. Only this can explain their absence and the presence of their contingents in the eastern campaign.

1. A.N., vol. II, p. 155.

2. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, English translation, vol. I, p. 16.

3. Shah Nawas Khan, Maasir-ul-Umra, Eng. tr., vol. I, p. 411.

4. Prasad, p. 9.

5. Kawal Rai, Taskarat-ul-Umra, MS, British Museum, f. 131.

6. A.N., vol. III, p. 87.

7. Ibid., p. 134.

Bhagwant Das¹ was the eldest son of Bharahmall. He entered the service of Akbar along with other Kachhwaha princes in 1562. It appears that the Rajputs did not initially hail the action of their princes and few were prepared to join them in their adventures into the unknown. They could not muster large contingents to support the imperial wars. Bhagwant Das was, therefore, not entrusted with serious military jobs for more than a decade. He remained with the emperor as a companion.

1. The editors, and particularly the translators, of medieval histories and chronicles have often mis-spelled the proper names. The Kachhwahas have been the main victim. Behari Mal of the English translation of Akbarnama is Bharahmall and Bhagwan Das of the English translation of Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh and Tabakat-i-Akbari is Bhagwant Das.

The following works have been taken into consideration to determine the correct spelling of Bharahmall and Bhagwant Das:

1. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama; Bharahmall (vol.II, p.19), with variations like Barahmal (vol.II, pp. 35)-invariably Bhagwant Das.
2. Arif Gandhari, Tarikh-i-Akbari, Rampur, 1962, Bharmal (pp.126).
3. Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh, vol II; Bharahmall (p.151) and also Paharahmall or Pharahmall (p. 50) which obviously is a mistake. Bhakwan Das (pp. 214, 353, 371, etc.) Bhagwanth Das (p. 170), Bhagwan Das (pp.294, 341, 348).
4. Nizamuddin, Tabakat-i-Akbari, vol.II; Bharmal (p. 155), Bhagwan Das (p. 430).
5. Nautmad Khan, Iqbalnema-i-Jahangiri, Nawal Kishore edition; (Bharahmall (p.122)
6. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Sir Siyyed edition; Bharahmall (p.7), while an early manuscript presented to one of Jahangir's nobles, belonging to Central Records Office, Hyderabad, has Bharamall.
7. Kewal Ram, Taskarat-ul-Unra; British Museum MS. Bharahmall (f. 131) Bhagwant Das (f. 132).
8. Farid Bhakkari, Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin, Karachi, 1961, vol.I; Bharahmall (p.103) Bhagwan Das (pp. 103, 105).
9. Bayazid Bayat, Taskarah Humayon wa Akbar; Bhagwan Das (p.369).
10. Shah Abu Turab Wali, Tarikh-i-Gujarat, Calcutta, 1909; Bhagwan Das (p.64).
11. An inscription, in devnagri script, found at Jamva Rangarh, dated V.S. 1669 corresponding to 1612 A.D. has Bharahmall. In the list of the sons of Bharahmall, Bhagwant Dasji and Bhagwan Dasji are mentioned. Vide-Satya Prakash, Maharaja Bharamal and Bhagwan Das of Amber and Their Relations with the Mughal Court, Indian History Congress, 1950, p. 192.
12. The Rajput Sources; Bharamal & Bhagwant Das. See Prasad, pp.10-18.

Before Bhagwant Das could display his valour and courage he had an opportunity to witness a daring adventure of his sovereign. Shortly after the arrival of Bhagwant Das at the court, Akbar decided to punish the peasants of a group of villages, collectively known as Athkhora, in the present district of Etah, in Uttar Pradesh. These villagers were notorious of their 'insolence, robbery, manslaughter, boldness and turbulence'. With a small group of his shikar party, he attacked them in a village known as Puronkh. The opponents outnumbered the imperialists several times over. Bhagwant Das and Bedi Chand, Raja of Nagarkot, kept themselves close to the emperor while the rest of the companions were dispersed during the struggle and when Akbar felt thirsty Bhagwant Das gave him water from his own supplies. Riding on an elephant Akbar entered the hostile village without regard to his life, against a shower of arrows. He broke down their fortification and gained a signal victory. Bhagwant Das remained close to the emperor throughout this adventure.¹

We do not know anything about the activities of Bhagwant Das after the incident of Pharonkh but it appears that he continued to stay with the emperor. After a span of about four years his name again appears in connection with the rebellion of the Khan-i-Zaman. During this period he certainly had gained the trust of his master. In 1565, the Uzbeks rose in revolt, their leader, the Khan-i-Zaman, was one of the builders of the empire. The

1. A.N., vol. II, p. 165.

Uzbek revolt created a serious situation in the empire because the rebels had a strong support even in the imperial camp. In such a situation suppression of the Uzbeks could not be entrusted to nobles of doubtful loyalty, so the emperor took the field himself, Bhagwant Das accompanied the emperor in this expedition and remained with him through out the expedition. Munim Khan, the Khan Khanan, who is accused by Abul Fazl, of his sympathy with the Khan-i-Zaman, brought about a temporary peace but soon the Khan-i-Zaman violated the settlement. Akbar, at that time, was at Benaras. He immediately marched against the rebel chief on February 2, 1566 and appointed Bhagwant Das, Khwaja Jahan and Muzaffar Khan incharges of the imperial camp¹ and ordered them to follow him slowly, stage by stage. They took the camp to Jaunpur. The Khan-i-Zaman was again pardoned. Akbar began his homeward journey on March 3, 1566, and reached Agra via Manikpur and Kalpi on March 28, 1566. In this expedition Bhagwant Das did not play a significant role but it must have been a rich experience for him.

Akbar was at Lahore, when in the beginning of 1567 the Khan-i-Zaman again unfurled the standard of rebellion and got khutba read in the name of Mirza Hakim. Akbar returned to Agra in May, 1567 and proceeded against the Khan who was stationed at Qannauj at that time. The Khan retreated towards Manikpur on the approach of the emperor. Akbar reached Manikpur via Rai Bareilly and left the imperial camp under the charge² of Bhagwant Das and

1. A.N., Vol. II, p. 265.

2. Ibid., p. 291.

Khwaja Jahan to be conveyed by stages to Karra, and he, with a select army went in pursuit of the Khan. Akbar forced a battle upon him in which the latter was killed. After his victory, Akbar toured the eastern provinces while the imperial camp, under the charge of Bhagwant Das remained at Karra. After visiting Allahabad, Benares and Jaunpur, he joined the camp at Karra. He stayed at Karra for a few days and on June 28, 1567, left for Agra, where he reached on July 18, 1567. Bhagwant Das also returned with the emperor to Agra. This expedition took about three months, and Bhagwant Das did not go beyond Karra.

Bhagwant Das, bound in the service, practically exiled from home remained in constant attendance upon the emperor. Akbar became more ambitious after successfully suppressing his haughty and proud nobles, and embarked upon the conquest of Chittor. It was typical of Akbar to select the most respected and the most powerful ruling family for an encounter and to invest the strongest of their fortresses to inaugurate his campaigns in Rajputana. He had hardly rested for six weeks when he left Agra on 30th August 1567, on a mission of conquest. Bhagwant Das seems to have accompanied the emperor this time also. By 19th September, 1567, Akbar reached Dholpur and proceeding via Kota, arrived at Chittor on 20 October 1567. The fort fell to the Mughals after a protracted siege and a very heavy loss of life on both sides, on 23rd February, 1568.

We do not know what precisely was the role of Bhagwant Das in the conquest of Chittor. His position, most likely was that of a nadim, a courtier or a companion. When Akbar fired at Jainai, the commander of the fortress, he told Shuja'at Khan and

Bhagwant Das that it appeared that the bullet had hit the target. On the night preceding the fall of Chittor, soon after the death of Jaimal, the Mughals observed huge flames at several places inside the fort which puzzled them. Bhagwant Das informed them that the jauhar was being performed.¹ It is important to note that the Rajputs were conspicuous by their absence among the besiegers. Only Bhagwant Das's name is mentioned as one who remained with the emperor practically as a non-combatant. Among the non-Muslim leaders only the names of Todarmal and Rai Parkhotam are recorded by Abul Fazl.²

Akbar left Chittor on 28th February, 1568, and reached Ajmer on 6th March, 1568. After staying for a couple of days at Ajmer, he left for Agra by the Mewat route and reached the capital on 13th April, 1568. Our sources do not help us in ascertaining as to how far Bhagwant Das accompanied his master. There is a strong possibility of his visiting his native place in the interim period and seeing his family after a long time, because we again find him with the emperor in the siege of Ranthambhore which began on 10th February, 1569. There is a gap of almost one year between the emperor's departure from Ajmer and the siege of Ranthambhore. Bhagwant Das must have joined the emperor at some stage on his long route, the itinerary of which included Delhi, Mewat, Alwar etc., for his attack upon the fortress. Although there is no reference to the presence of Bhagwant Das in this march and the siege but there is a reference to one of his servants,

1. A.N., vol. II, p. 320.

2. Ibid., pp. 316, 319.

Bipak Sakrwal¹, who tried in vain to prevent a servant of Rai Surjan Hada from rash action. After the submission of Rai Surjan on 22nd March, 1569, Akbar stayed at Panthambhore for a few days and left for Ajmer where he reached in the beginning of April, 1569. He did not stay for long at Ajmer and came back to Fatehpur. When the emperor arrived near Amber, Bhagwant Das received him and took him to his house². It was a great day for the Kachhwahas, having been honoured by a royal visit. Bhagwant Das gave a grand feast and offered valuable gifts to Akbar. Elaborate preparations were made for the reception of the royal guests. Included in the preparations was the construction of a mosque for the Muslim servants of the emperor. It can, thus, be concluded that Bhagwant Das, who accompanied the emperor on his Panthambhore expedition, stayed with him till the surrender of the fort and when Akbar began his march towards Ajmer, he went to Amber to make preparations for the royal visit which had been promised as early as January 1562.³

Akbar did not stay for long at Agra. He had resolved that he would make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti on foot, if God blessed him with a son. A son, who later became Jahangir, was born to him on August 30, 1569. Akbar began his famous thanksgiving march on 20th January 1570, and reached Ajmer, via Sanganer, on 5th February, 1570. After staying for a

1. A.N., vol. II, pp. 337-38.

2. Ibid., p. 339.

3. Ibid., p. 157.

few days at Ajmer, he went on another pilgrimage to Delhi. Akbar returned to Agra on 2nd May, 1570.¹ This was a personal pilgrimage and very few people accompanied the emperor. But Bhagwant Das must have attended the emperor at least through some stages of his journey because the emperor was passing close to, and through his father's territory. Moreover, it was obligatory on the part of the officers, unless they were engaged in important assignment, to be present on ceremonial occasions. It may also be added that the permanent servants had to carry on their duties as prescribed from time to time. They were given leave rarely and for very short durations. Leaving the place of duty without permission was considered a grave offence. We must presume, unless stated otherwise, that Bhagwant Das accompanied the emperor on all his marches as a personal attendant. He became very close to Akbar during this period, as his future career would reveal.

After the rainy season of 1570 was over Akbar left Agra for Ajmer on 23rd September 1570 with the grim determination of making his presence felt in Rajputana. On 3rd November, 1570, he left Ajmer for Nagaur. Akbar had given enough latitude to the princes of Rajasthan. His liberalism did not attract them and the fall of Chittor only made them realise that there was no greater power in northern India than that of the Mughal emperor. Akbar had visited Ajmer thrice after the victory of Chittor but the princes of Rajasthan kept their necks straight and their heads high.

1. A.N., Vol. II, pp. 350-52.

Why must they rush to lose their sovereignty and independence unless they were obliged to do so under compulsion? Akbar's prolonged stay at Nagaur made it clear to the princes that he meant business. The rulers of Jodhpur and Bikaner made submission by personal presence while Rawal Har Rai, the ruler of Jaisalmer offered his submission by offering his daughter in marriage to the emperor. Akbar entrusted Bhagwant Das 'one of the firm footed in loyalty's banquet' with the responsibility of escorting the lady from Jaisalmer to Nagaur. Bhagwant Das brought her to Nagaur while Akbar was still there.¹ Akbar left a strong force at Nagaur and went towards Lahore where he reached on 17th May, 1571. Having arranged the affairs of the Punjab, he again returned to Ajmer and reached there on 21st July, 1572, and then went to the capital.² Bhagwant Das remained with the emperor during this period.

The Gujarat Expeditions (1572-73):

The glory of the kingdom of Gujarat ended with the death of Bahadur Shah, who once dreamt of establishing an all India empire. Under his weak successors, who were many, the nobles, hostile to each other and belonging to different nationalities and races, had complete control over various parts of the kingdom where they ruled as independent potentates. On the eve of Akbar's conquest, Aitmad Khan possessed the important parts of the kingdom including Ahmadabad, the capital, and Cambay.

1. A.N. , vol.II, p. 358.

2. Ibid., pp. 357-366.

His greatest strength was that the king Muzaffar Shah was in his custody and his actions had some kind of legal sanction. The flight of Muzaffar Shah from Ahmadabad to Pattan, the stronghold of the Afghans, at the instigation of Sher Khan Pauladi, an Afghan adventurer, precipitated a crisis which ultimately brought about the extinction of the last independent kingdom of Gujarat.

Sher Khan Pauladi attacked Ahmadabad in the name of the king. Aitmad Khan sought the support of the Mirzas who readily agreed to fish in the troubled waters. He also sought Akbar's assistance. The enterprising emperor, who had become the undisputed master of northern India, the great fortresses like Chittor, Ranthambhore, Merta, Gwalior and Kalinjar having come into his possession and almost all the Rajput rulers of Rajputana having accepted his overlordship, was looking for opportunities for the extension of his empire. Divided Gujarat, without an effective leader and the invitation of Aitmad Khan was too great a temptation to ignore and he left the capital for its conquest on July 4, 1572.

Bhagwant Das who was amongst the companions of Akbar accompanied him on this march. The imperial party reached Ajmer on July 26, 1572, where the arrangements for the conquest of Gujarat were made. He dispatched a large army as an advance force on August 12, 1572. The officers in the advance party consisted mainly of the Irani and Turani nobles. Akbar himself left Ajmer on September 1, 1572. At Sirahi, Akbar appointed Rai Rai Singh

warden of Sirahi and Jodhpur to check the enemy infiltration from Gujarat into the imperial territory.¹ The imperial camp came from Sirahi towards Pattan. On the way, at Disa, intelligence was brought that Sher Khan Fauladi, hearing of Akbar's arrival, has given up the siege of Ahmadabad and had gone towards Suarat (Kathiawar), and had sent his sons, Muhammad Khan and Badar, to convey his family and treasure to some place of safety. They had accomplished the task assigned to them and were returning to join their father. Akbar sent Man Singh, son of Bhagwant Das, in their pursuit but they escaped into defiles and Man Singh had to console himself with their baggage which fell into his hands.² He, however, returned to the camp. This was the first independent military assignment to a Kachhwaha prince. Akbar's arrival at Ahmadabad was preceded by prolonged negotiations between Akbar and the Gujarati nobles. It is clear from our sources that the Rajputs did not take any part in the negotiations. Bhagwant Das and other Rajputs, however, remained close to the emperor. The camp arrived at Pattan on November 7, 1572. Muzaffar Shah, the nominal ruler of Gujarat, who had separated himself from Sher Khan Fauladi, was captured by the imperial officers and was imprisoned. On November 13, 1572, the camp moved towards Ahmadabad where it arrived on 20th November. Between Pattan and Ahmadabad most of the Gujarati

1. A.N., vol. III, p. 5.

2. Ibid., p. 6; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Eng. tr. by M.F. Lokhandwala, Baroda, 1965, pp. 93-94.

nobles joined the imperial camp and the country north of Mahi came in Akbar's possession without shooting an arrow. The Gujarati nobles were required to provide sureties for their conduct. Mir Abu Turab stood surety for the conduct of Aitmad Khan and Aitmad Khan bound himself for the loyalty of other Gujarati nobles except the Abessinians whose loyalty was considered to be of a doubtful nature. Abul Fazl writes "in observance of certain matters, which were necessary for the guarding of sovereignty they were made over to the great officers".¹ The 'great officers' were Bhagwant Das and Man Singh who were given the charge of Jajhar Khan and Ulugh Khan, the Abyssinian leaders, respectively.²

Akbar entrusted the government of Ahmadabad to Aziz Koka, to the great disappointment of Aitmad Khan who had been promised its government. Akbar treated the Gujarati nobles most shabbily. They were assigned unconquered places which were in the possession of the Mirzas and the Afghans. On December 2, 1572, Akbar left Ahmadabad for Baroda via Cambay (Bhagwant Das and his family must have seen the sea for the first time). During the journey all the Gujarati nobles, including Aitmad Khan, were arrested following the flight of Ikhtiar-ul-Mulk. Aitmad Khan was entrusted to the custody of Raja Todarmal. After the arrest of Gujarati nobles Akbar took steps for the suppression of the Mirzas.³ A sizable part of Gujrat was in

1. A.N., vol. III, p. 7.

2. Shah Abu Turab Wali, p. 64.

3. A.N., Vol.III, p. 9.

their possession. Baroda was held by Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Surat was in the possession of Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza had the control over Champaner. They were the descendants of Timur and their blood was as blue as that of Akbar. They had enjoyed great respect in the court of Babar. During the reign of Humayun they rebelled but finally joined the emperor and were expelled from India along with Humayun by Sher Shah. Later, they came back to India with Humayun in 1555. Akbar had given a jagir to Sultan Muhammad Mirza in sarkar Sambhal. The Mirza had several sons and Akbar conferred small jagirs to each of them. Ibrahim Husain, Muhammad Husain and other imperious Mirzas were not satisfied with those small jagirs and decided to make their fortune by force of arms. The unstable¹ political situation in the country in the mid-sixties provided them with the desired opportunity. After wandering in vain in the imperial territory they went to Malwa. For a short time they made themselves the masters of Malwa. After the expulsion of Mirza Hakim and the suppression of the Uzbek rebellion Akbar sent a large force against the Mirzas who were driven to Gujarat. The spirited Mirzas had qualities of leadership and organisation, and they soon acquired a firm footing in Gujarat.

Akbar reached Baroda on 21st December, 1572. Next day he sent a small force against the Mirzas. It included Bhagwant Das, Man Singh and several veterans like Khan Alam, Saiyyed Mahmood Barha, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Khwaja Ghyasuddin Ali

1. The invasion of Mirza Hakim and the rebellion of the Uzbeks.

Isfahani.¹ Bhagwant Das and his party must not have gone far when it was learnt that Ibrahim Hussain Mirza was not very far from the imperial camp. It was past midnight when Akbar learnt this news. Shahbaz Khan was sent to recall Bhagwant Das and his party and Akbar himself, without waiting for the arrival of Bhagwant Das, proceeded against the Mirza with a very small army, leaving a few persons to defend the imperial camp. Shahbaz Khan could not catch up with Bhagwant Das soon because they followed different routes. They were, however, able to join the imperial party before the battle of Sarnal. The emperor was displeased with the delay in their arrival but he pardoned them when the circumstances were made known to him.² In this battle, fought in the evening of December 23, 1572, the Kachhwaha leaders, for the first time during their long service of more than a decade, participated in actual battle. Man Singh, in his anxiety to show his valour and spirit of sacrifice, requested to lead the van. To keep his spirits high, one hundred soldiers were assigned to him. Man Singh's vanguard got separated from the army and it is doubtful if he participated in the battle at all.³

The battle of Sarnal is an important landmark in the career of Bhagwant Das. Kachhwahas displayed courage, valour and a

1. Abul Fazl, Vol.III, p. 11; Badoni, vol. II, p.142; Nizamuddin, vol.II, p. 377.

2. A.N., vol.III, p. 14; Nizamuddin, p. 378.

3. A.N., vol.III, p.14; Badaoni, vol. II, p. 142; Nizamuddin, vol. II, p. 378; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, p. 97.

spirit of sacrifice in this battle. Bhupat, younger son of Bharahmall, was surrounded by a large number of enemies. The young warrior fought bravely but was killed during the first onslaught.¹ Bhagwant Das stayed with the emperor. When a group of three enemies attacked them, Bhagwant Das displayed great courage and presence of mind and wounded one of them. However, the battle was won and Ibrahim Husain Mirza fled towards Idar. Akbar was greatly pleased with Bhagwant Das "who had repeatedly shown great bravery and valour in the battle" and honoured him with a banner and kettle-drum.² Bhagwant Das seems to be the first Rajput who was distinguished by such honours.

After the victory at Samal Akbar returned to his camp at Baroda, and after a week's stay there, proceeded for the conquest of Surat, which had a strong citadel, on 31st December, 1572. Bhagwant Das and Man singh were in the company of the emperor. They reached Surat on 11th January, 1573, and the fort was besieged. In the mean time it was reported that there was dissension among the Mirzas who had assembled near Idar. Ibrahim Husain Mirza separated himself from Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza and left for Agra to surprise the capital. Akbar sent Saiyyed Mahmood Barha, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Bhagwant Das³ to the capital for its' protection but before they could reach there the officers of the Punjab and Delhi had suppressed this commotion.

1. A.N., vol.III, pp. 14, 59; Badaoni, vol. II, p. 143.

2. A.N., vol.III, p. 15; Nizamuddin, vol. II, pp.380-81, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, p. 97.

3. A.N., vol. III, p. 19, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, p. 99.

While Bhagwant Das was sent against Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Man Singh remained with the emperor. Akbar captured the fort of Surat on February 26, 1573, and left for Ahmadabad on March 8, 1573, where he reached on April 5, 1573. During this period Jajhar Khan who was placed in the custody of Bhagwant Das, was executed. Bhagwant Das must have relinquished the charge of his prisoner before he left for the capital. Akbar left Ahmadabad on April 13, and reached the capital on June 3, 1573. Man Singh parted company with the emperor at Sidhpur, not very far from Ahmadabad, for his diplomatic mission to Udaipur.¹

No sooner did Akbar leave Gujarat than all elements opposed to the Mughals, like the Mirzas, the Afghans, the Abyssinians and some Rajputs, joined hands against Aziz Koka, the Mughal governor. Aziz Koka took shelter within the strong walls of Ahmadabad and appealed to the emperor for urgent reinforcements. It appeared that the history would repeat itself and the Mughals would be thrown out of Gujarat as it had happened in the case of Humayun. Akbar was more alive to the demands of the state. He made the necessary preparations for a hasty march and sent order to the jagirdars of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh to reach Gujarat while he himself left for Gujrat on 23rd August, 1573, and reached the environs of Ahmadabad in ten days. On September 2, 1573, Akbar defeated his enemies and entered Ahmadabad. Gujarat was thus saved by the quick and daring action of the emperor.

Bhagwant Das who was among 'the select companions' of the emperor did not accompany him this time because Akbar had entrusted

1. A.N., vol. III, pp. 28-41.

him and Shuja'at Khan along with Sayyid Mahmood Barha, with the responsibility of escorting the imperial harem to Gujarat which he had sent in advance. We do not know what route they took but at one stage they lost contact with the emperor's party. A section of the advance party which included men like Mahmood Barha and Shah Quli Khan Mahram joined the emperor at Merta on August 26, 1573. Bhagwant Das and Shuja'at Khan seems to have stayed with the harem with a small contingent necessary for the protection of the ladies and the rest of the army was sent to join the emperor. In the morning of August 27, it was rumoured that the harem had reached Pali (on Delhi-Nagore-Ahmadabad route). Akbar who was leaving Merta at that time immediately left for Pali. He had not gone far when he learnt that the report was false. He, therefore, returned and proceeded on the scheduled march. When he reached Jalore the party escorting the harem also arrived there. Shahbaz Khan was ordered to look after the harem and the imperial camp and Bhagwant Das relieved of his charge. He seems to have accompanied the emperor from this stage.¹

Shortly before the battle on September 2, 1573, when frantic preparations were being made in the imperial camp, Rupsi, an uncle of Bhagwant Das, created a very embarrassing situation by being discourteous and rude to the emperor. Bhagwant Das intervened and brought his uncle round to apologise.² When the

1. A.N. Vol.III, pp. 43,44, 49-50.

2. Ibid., p. 49.

preparations were complete Akbar mounted his horse Noor Baiza, Bhagwant Das, who like other courtiers always looked for an opportunity to please the emperor, congratulated him on the victory of Gujarat. He also pointed out several favourable omens.¹ Bhagwant Das stayed with the emperor during the battle of Ahmadabad. It was through him that Akbar gave instructions to the army. Since the Gujaratis were taken by surprise they could not mobilise their forces to meet this invasion. Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk appeared on the battlefield when Muhammad Husain Mirza had been already defeated and captured. Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk's army were far numerous than those of Akbar and the main Mughal army could not leave the town of Ahmadabad. Bhagwant Das and (Shuja'at) Khan with other leaders rushed forward and attacked the enemy with arrows. Akbar thought that the dispersal of his small army would make it ineffective, he therefore ordered them to return

1. A.N. p. 50. The Raja said, 'Three signs of victory have appeared, each one of these is, in the opinion of the experienced men of India, an omen of victory. First - At such a time as this you (Akbar) have mounted on your horse, Second - A favourable wind is blowing from behind the victorious army. Third - A great number of crows and cows are keeping us company'. Beveridge has added a note in his English translation of Akbarnama, vol. III, pp. 70-71 n.2. He writes, 'Apparently the moment of mounting was an auspicious one. It will be observed that Akbar did not at once mount. He mounted on the way, presumably because of moment was auspicious. Add. 27, 247 has boz baiza, a roan horse(?). Erskine translates the account of the first omen 'the general riding on such a horse', and it is more natural to suppose that Bhagwan was referring to something special about the horse, especially as A.F. (Abul Fazl) has just given the name of the animal. But two B.M. Mss. (British Museum manuscripts) and the text have augat times. It looks as if Erskine had read ausaf qualities, and some such reading is preferable to augat. If Bhagwan was referring to the time of the mounting the horse one does not see why the plural augat was used instead of the singular wagt'. The author of Mirat-i-Ahmadi (p.105) considered, both the time and the horse as auspicious.

It was not the time but the horse which constituted the omen of victory. The horse, Noor Baiza began to be considered to be a symbol of success after this victory. In 1574, Akbar, mounted on this horse, made his victorious entry into Patna. See Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, iii, p. 101.

and said, 'Be not hasty and await mystic victories for soon they will bring his (Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk's) head'. He further added, 'The enemy are unnumbered and we are few; we must attack with one force and one heart, for a clinched fist is more useful than an open hand'. During the battle, Muhammad Husain Mirza was executed at the instance of Bhagwant Das. The imperialists won after a short but bloody contest (2nd September, 1573). Gujarat was again conquered.¹

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1. A.N. Vol.III, pp. 54,65,61,59; Mirat-i-Ahmadi, pp. 107, 109; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, vol II, pp. 42, 44; with regard to the responsibility of the execution of Muhammad Husain Mirza there is a difference of opinion among the contemporary writers. Abul Fazl, op.cit., pp. 59-62. According to Abul Fazl (A.N. Vol.III, p. 59-62) the Mirza was captured during the first phase of the battle and was handed over to Man Singh Darbari (p. 59). Later he was transferred to the charge of Rai Rai Singh in order that he might put him on an elephant and convey him to the city (Ahmadabad)' (p. 60). After some time, before he could be conveyed to the town, Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk appeared on the battlefield with a large army which created a lot of confusion among the imperialists. 'During this tumult', writes Abul Fazl (p. 61) he (Akbar) at the instance of Raja Bhagwant Das and Rai Rai Singh ordered that Muhammad Husain Mirza, the root cause of sedition, should be put to death'. Jahangir (Tuzuk, op.cit., vol.II, p. 44) writes 'Fearing that the enemy might take possession of Muhammad Husain Mirza, Rai Rai Singh's men by the advice and plan of the aforesaid Raja cut off his head. My father did not want to kill him'. Similarly Shah Abu Turab Wali in the account is not very reliable because in the preceding paragraph (p. 86) he writes that the emperor gave him water before his execution. Moreover, he was not present at the scene of execution but was in the town of Ahmadabad at that time. Jahangir's version that the emperor did not want to execute him cannot be accepted in the presence of convincing statement of Abul Fazl that he was executed by the order of the emperor on the advice of Bhagwant Das and Rai Rai Singh. Moreover, the author of Mirat-i-Ahmadi (p. 109) is more specific when he writes that Akbar 'ordered Raja Bhagwant Das with emphasis that he should finish Muhammad Husain Mirza'.

Bhagwant Das and some other members of his family had joined the service in 1562 and ever since he became a permanent employee he remained in close contact with the emperor but he was never assigned any significantly responsible job. It was during the Gujarat campaign that the Kachhwahas came into prominence. Raja Bharahmall was assigned the charge of the capital. Bhagwant Das and Man Singh were both given some independent, though minor, assignments. Abul Fazl's list¹ of the twenty seven persons who accompanied the emperor in this 'flying march' includes many Hindu names such as Jagannath, Rai Sal Darbari, Jaimal, Jagmal Panwar, Birbar, Deep Chand, Man Singh Darbari, Sanwal Das, Ram Das Kachhwaha, Ram Chand, Jadun Kaeth Darbari, Patrdas, Tara Chand Khwas and Lal Kalawant. Apart from the above mentioned officers at least the names of a few more like Bhagwant Das, Khangar, Rai Singh, Raghava Das Kachhwaha, Karn, grandson of Maldev, Baljeet and Raja Salbahan can be added in the list of those who participated in the battle.² The list is, no doubt, very impressive but it would be wrong to conclude

1. A.N. vol.III, op. cit., p. 49. A.L. Srivastava (Akbar the Great, vol. I, Agra, 1962, p. 148) misunderstood this passage. He writes, 'He (Akbar) had then with him 27 attendants all told, 15 of whom were Hindus; the rest of the troops had not been able to keep with him and were left behind'. This list contains the names of those of Akbar's attendants and companions who accompanied him in this march from Fatehpur and stayed with him till his arrival at Ahmadabad. For example, Bhagwant Das, Shuja'at Khan, Saiyyed Mahmood Barha's names are not mentioned in the list because they had left Fatehpur earlier but they had joined the imperial camp and were with the emperor all along in the final phase of the march.

2. A.N. Vol. III, pp. 47, 49, 50, 54, 56, 57, 60.

that the non-Muslim officers played a very significant role in the Gujarat campaign. If Mir Abu Turab, who was a key figure in the negotiations between Akbar and the Gujaratis, can be trusted and there is no reason why he should not be trusted, they did not participate in the negotiations. Except Todarmal who had by that time acquired a sufficiently high status, the rest of the Hindus, though they enjoyed the confidence of the emperor, had yet to play their roles. Most of the persons included in the list of Abul Fazl were ordinary courtiers and personal attendants of the emperor.¹

Between September 2, 1573, and September 13, 1573, Akbar settled the affairs of Gujarat and sent forces in various directions to control the situation and suppress the enemies who were dispersed all over Gujarat. Raja Bhagwant Das, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Iashkar Khan with some other officers were sent to Rana Pratap by way of Idar. Rai Narain Das Rathor, the ruler of Idar, like most of the gamindars, was a very shrewd person.

1. This list also contains the names of the personal attendants of the emperor like the painters, the musicians and the jesters. Some of these Rajas did not enjoy a position higher than that of an esquire of a medieval European knight. For example, Raja Dip Chand was 'honoured' with the charge of emperor's helmet. The 'bearer of the helmet' had to be in constant attendance to present it whenever it was needed. (See A.N., p. 53).

He had expelled Muhammad Khan, the son of Sher Khan Fauladi, from his territory on the request of the Mughal governor and had agreed to send his son in the governor's service. When Aziz Koka, the governor, bungled the affairs of Gujarat on the advice of the Saiyyeds of Bukhara, Narain Das saw the futility of betting on a losing horse. He recalled Muhammad Khan and joined Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk's camp. But Akbar's rapid march surprised his enemies and the losing horse got a new lease of life, with increased vigour and energy. Change of loyalty did not mean much to Narain Das. He readily submitted to Bhagwant Das and presented him with suitable gifts. Before reaching Idar Bhagwant Das captured Rawaliya, a khasakhel and servant of Sher Khan Fauladi, who had actively resisted the Mughal advance in Gujarat. He possessed the fort of Badnagar which also came into the possession of the Mughals. When Akbar learnt that the Raja has captured Rawaliya and the fort had come into the possession of the imperial officers he felt satisfied and set off rapidly towards the capital where he reached on October 5, 1573. After visiting Rana Pratap, Bhagwant Das also reached the capital towards the end of October, 1573.¹

Akbar was not satisfied with the progress of Mughal armies in the east. Munim Khan, the Khan Khanan, who was the commander-in-chief of the eastern front had not been able to dislodge Daud Khan, the Afghan ruler from Bihar. Akbar would

1. A.N. Vol. III, pp. 47-48, 64-65, 66, Abu Turab Wali, pp. 114-115; Farhat, Tuhfat-i-Rajasthan, p. 11.

have himself embarked upon the eastern campaign much earlier if the second Gujarat campaign had not become necessary. However, Akbar left the capital on June 15, 1574, with a powerful army. In Akbarnama Bhagwant Das and Man Singh head the list of the officers who accompanied the emperor this time. Akbar reached Patna by way of Etawa, Kalpi, Allahabad and Benaras on August 3, 1574. In Patna he assigned a number of officers to the Khan Khanan for his campaign against Daud, and returned to Agra, visiting Chausa, Jaunpur, Manikpur, Qannauj, Patiali, Delhi, Narnaul and Ajmer on his way, on January 18, 1575. It is very strange that the names of the Kachhwaha leaders are not mentioned in the subsequent account of the eastern campaign. It appears that they were allowed to return from some stage of the onward journey but their contingents were retained. The Kachhwaha contingents were assigned to the Khan Khanan when Akbar left Patna for the capital. The Khan Khanan had posted Arab Bahadur in Maher (Sarkar Bihar). Some time after April 12, 1575, the Afghans defeated Arab Bahadur. The office of Bihar assembled to challenge the Afghans who had taken shelter in the defiles. It seems that there was a lack of leadership among the Mughal Officers. They could not decide whether to pursue the Afghans in the defiles or to return to their stations but 'about three hundred Rajputs from among the servants of Raja Bhagwant Das, but without him, entered boldly into the defiles but they did not move with caution and they were defeated. Jai Kuar, Kan Kachhwaha, Dida Chohan and about one hundred bravemen were killed¹. The Kachhwaha contingents were, perhaps, sent back after this incident because they were required for the Mewar campaign which was assigned to Man Singh.

1. A.N. , Vol.III, p. 134.

In 1575, Mirza Sulaiman, the ruler of Badakhshan was expelled from his kingdom by his grandson Shahrukh. Having failed in securing the support of Mirza Hakim, the ruler of Afghanistan, he decided to come to India to solicit Akbar's assistance for the recovery of his kingdom. Akbar decided to accord a grand reception to the Mirza, the senior most prince among the surviving Timurides, and sent with Agha Jan Khazanchi a sum of fifty thousand rupees to him, and also ordered Bhagwant Das to go and receive the Mirza on the border of the empire and bring him to the capital with great honour. The selection of Bhagwant Das for this purpose is significant. It is obvious from the contemporary accounts that Akbar was very keen to impress upon the Mirza the grandeur of his court, his wealth and greatness. Reception by a Hindu Raja could impress the Mirza deeply, otherwise Akbar could have asked Khan-i-Jahan, the governor of Punjab, a noble of very high standing to perform this duty. Agha Jan arrived at the Indus and handed over the money and other gifts to the Mirza and after a few days Bhagwant Das also reached there and received the Mirza in a kingly manner. The Raja made arrangements for the daily entertainment of the Mirza and brought him to Lahore where they rested for a few days. This was also necessary to enable some of the great nobles who had been summoned to reach Fatehpur for the Mirza's reception. Bhagwant Das and the Mirza reached the capital on

October 18, 1575. The Mirza was accorded a right royal reception.¹

1. Nizamuddin, vol.ii, p.475; Arif Qandhari, p.206; Badaoni, vol.ii p. 214, Abul Fazl, op. cit., p. 156.

Abul Fazl generally agrees with Nizamuddin, Qandhari and Badaoni's account of the Mirza's visit but it is very surprising that he does not mention the name of Bhagwant Das with Agha (or Aqa) Jan. Badaoni and Qandhari's statements raise doubts about the fact of the Raja's being sent to the Indus to welcome the Mirza. Qandhari has written that Agha Jan Khazanchi and 'Raja Bhagwan Das Parwanchi' received the Mirza. Badaoni adds that Raja Bhagwan Das, the governor of Lahore, was sent to the Indus. Bhagwant Das became the governor of Lahore much later and Parwanchi has not been used for Bhagwant Das in any other source. But the use of the title of Raja and the statement of Nizamuddin leave little doubt about the Raja's being sent to the Indus to receive the Mirza. Badaoni and Nizamuddin disagree on the time of the arrival of Bhagwant Das and Agha Jan. Nizamuddin writes that the treasurer reached a few days earlier than the Raja while Badaoni holds the contrary view.

The Mewar Campaigns 1573-1577.

Akbar's greatest problem in his plan of the conquest of Gujarat was to establish a firm and secure line of communication between Ajmer and Ahmadabad because there existed between the two towns a cluster of smaller principalities like Idar, Dungarpur, Banswara, Sirohi and Jalor and, of course, Mewar. Rulers of many of these states were connected with Rana Pratap Singh either by blood or by marriage. A friendly, or at least a neutral Mewar was essential for an easy conquest of Gujarat. Aware of the importance of Mewar in his scheme of the conquest of Gujarat, Akbar sent a confidential servant, Jalal Khan Qurchi, on a mission of peace and friendship to the Rana before he left Ajmer for Ahmadabad. He also posted Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner on the Mewar-Marwar border to maintain the line of communication and check the entry of the enemies from Gujarat. Qurchi left Ajmer for Mewar some time in September 1572 and joined Akbar on November 27, 1572. Nizamuddin and Arif Qandhari, the only sources about this mission, do not give any details but we can safely presume that Qurchi secured at least the neutrality of the Rana. Encouraged by the neutrality of the Rana, Akbar sent another mission under Man Singh after the conquest of Gujarat. Akbar had not interfered in the affairs of Mewar for the last five years but now he demanded complete submission of the Rana on the pattern of other Rajput principalities. Man Singh was received well at Udaipur but the Rana refused to make a formal submission by 'kissing the threshold' of the emperor. Man Singh

returned to the capital without achieving much in June 1573.¹

Narain Das of Idar, one of the fathers-in-law of the Rana, had played an important part in the abortive attempt to terminate the Mughal rule in Gujarat. Akbar was then convinced that the security of Gujarat depended on the submission of the Rana. After his second expedition to Gujarat Akbar sent Bhagwant Das with a large army to the Rana's territory while he himself returned to Fatehpur. Bhagwant Das came to Goganda, one of the headquarters of the Rana, in September 1573. The nature of the mission of Man Singh and the expedition of Bhagwant Das was substantially different. Man Singh's mandate was that "the Rana and other zamindars of neighbourhood were to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to homage and the disobedients were to be punished", but his father, Bhagwant Das, was told "to put down the factitious one of that country (Mewar) and chastize properly everyone who was disobedient". The Rana did not fail to notice the changed attitude of Akbar and tried to accommodate the imperial demands of submission and personal attendance by sending his eldest son, Amar Singh, to the imperial court with Bhagwant Das.

1. A.N. Vol.III, pp. 5, 33-34, 40; Qandhari, p. 160; Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 375.

Similar precautions were taken by Akbar on an earlier occasion. Before Akbar set out against the Khan-i-Zaman he dispatched a mission to Sulaiman Karani, the ruler of Bengal, under Haji Muhammed Khan Sistani to secure Karani's neutrality. At the same time, as a precautionary measure, he sent another mission under Hasan Khan Khzanchi and the poet-astronomer Maha Patr to the Raja of Orissa, requesting him to create diversions for Karani by attacking Bengal if Sulaiman Karani decided to support the Khan.

See Nizamuddin, Vol.II, pp. 299-300.

The Rana compromised his position by sending the son to the court which no Rana had done in the past, but Akbar was so insensitive to this gesture of good will that the visit went almost unnoticed at the court. Akbar did not give any importance to the visit of the descendant of Bapa Rawal and the official historian dismissed this event in just one line.¹ Amar Singh's visit to the court obviously meant that the Rana was prepared to make some kind of settlement with the emperor corresponding to his position as head of the largest and the greatest kingdom of Rajasthan and also as the heir to the ancient seat of Gehlot power which had been adorned by several illustrious rulers of eternal fame. Amar Singh must have reported to his father that an alliance with the Mughal would reduce him to a position of a dignified serf who was obliged to work for the greater part of the year for the emperor, and very often against his own kith and kin for, no doubt, immensely high wages.

Amar Singh's visit to the court in November 1573, is a dividing line in the relations between Pratap Singh and Akbar. From 1574, the attitude of the Rana hardened towards the Mughals. The Rana adopted the course of opposition in place of submission with full awareness that it would bring him into conflict with a mighty power. The Rana started making preparations to meet the attack of the imperialists.

1. A.N. Vol. II, pp. 34,41,64, 67; Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 170.

Another mission headed by Todarmal is mentioned by modern writers like A.L. Srivastava and Prasad. Todarmal did not make a formal call upon the Rana, on the contrary the Rana himself called upon Todarmal when the latter was passing through the territory of the former. Abul Fazl (p.67) observes that shortly after the arrival of Bhagwant, Todarmal also arrived at Agra. 'The Rana visited him (Todarmal-when he was returning from Gujarat and was passing through the Rana's territory) also on his way and displayed flattery and submissiveness'. The time difference between the two visits was so short that it was not possible for Akbar to take stock of Bhagwant Das's expedition and order Todarmal who was in Gujarat at that time to formally visit the Rana.

Bhagwant Das, after his return from Mewar stayed with the emperor and also accompanied him in his eastern campaign in June 1574. He returned after some time to join in the mourning for his father at Amber. Akbar visited several cities in the east and came to Ajmer in January 1575, where Bhagwant Das seems to have joined the emperor and resumed his duties. In 1575, he was sent to welcome Mirza Sulaiman at western border of the empire.

Akbar came to Ajmer again on March 18, 1576, to finish the Mewar affair once for all. Akbar was a man of great wisdom and statesman like qualities but he underestimated Rana Pratap. Rana's early attempts of reconciliation were ignored by Akbar. 1576 was peaceful year for Akbar. He had dealt severely with the Afghans of the east. He could deploy, if he wanted to, veterans of several wars against the Rana at the head of an immensely large army. Akbar chose rather an inexperienced¹, 26 years old Man Singh to lead the campaign against the Rana at the head of a small army of 5000 horsemen. What exactly was Akbar's motivation in appointing Man Singh is a subject of imagination. On April 3, 1576 Akbar declared war against Mewar, appointed Man Singh as the commander and gave him the coveted title of farzand (son). Asaf Khan was appointed Bakhshi of the Army. The Mughal army included diverse elements and

1. Prior to this command, Man Singh had never fought in a battle with distinction. In 1572 he was twice tested once against the sons of Sher Khan Pauladi and next in the battle of Sarnal where he led the van consisting of 100 men. In the first campaign he could not get hold of Sher Khan's sons and in the second campaign he lost contact with the main army and could not participate in the battle at all.

the Rajputs constituted a small faction. Another important aspect of the Mughal army was that among the Rajputs it were the Kachhwahas alone and thereto the family of Bharahmall with the exception of one or two like Lonkaran.

On April 3, 1576, Man Singh moved towards Udaipur by slow marches and halted at Mandalgarh. For two months Man Singh stayed there to make preparations which also gave enough time to Rana Pratap to gether his forces. The Rana was unable to inspire his contemporaries with the same spirit which guided his actions. In fact the student of Rajput history knows that the Rajputs saka (heroic fight unto death) was only inspired by vair (revenge) or defence of bhum (patrimony). Majority of Rajput had no scores to settle with Akbar nor their patrimony were threatened, what ever sublime visions the Rana had, the Rajputs of other clans considered it a struggle for bhum. On the contrary alliance with Akbar had assured them that the days of Maldev would never return. Only three decades earlier Maldev had driven out several ruling families from their homes. Between Pratap and Akbar, choice before the Rajput chiefs was very clear. They let the Rana fight his battle alone.

Besides his own clansmen and some loyal sardars the Rana had the support of the Bhils, traditional allies and the Afghans. Ever since their defeat at Panipat the Afghans had established friendly relations with the house of Chittor. Suspected by the Mughals, the Afghans specially the musketeers and gunners found easy employment with the Ranas. Rana Sanga had a large Afghan following. His son Udai Singh also kept Afghan mercenaries

at Chittor. One Ismail Khan kept Akbar and his gallant soldiers at bay by his faultless targeting. May be accidental, Chittor fell the second day after Ismail's death. Similarly, Rana Pratap's vanguard at Haldigathi was led by an Afghan, Hakim Sur. Any attempt to make Pratap - Akbar conflict a conflict between Hindus and Muslims or naming Pratap a symbol of Hindu resistance is violation of historical truth.

Rajputs were the last to have respect for other Rajput. Each tribe and each clan considered itself superior in every respect. The Rathods had no love for the family of Bapa Rawal and Sangram Singh. Maldev gave a good rubbing to Sisodias when he could. Sisodia defeat at the hands of Babur, capture of Chittor by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, Udai Singh's meakly surrendering the keys of Chittor to Sher Shah, Udai Singh and Pratap Singh's taking refuge in the safety of hills and leaving the defence of the fort on Jaimal of Merta at the time of Akbar's attack on Chittor in 1567 had reduced their prestige at the lowest ebb. It was the glorious resistance on the part of Rana Pratap and his equally brave and noble son Rana Amar Singh which not only restored the prestige of the house of Sangram Singh but elevated it to such a high pedestal that it became an inspiring symbol of an struggle for independence against the British. There has been a tendency among the modern historians to assess the events prior to 1576 from Pratap's post Haldighati image which has made it impossible to project the events in their correct historical perspective. The unfortunate rivalry between the House of Amber-Jaipur and Udaipur, Hindu Muslim conflict in the present century and the demand and creation of Pakistan has played havoc with our understanding of Indian history, particularly in some sensitive areas like Maratha,

Rajput or Sikh history. In the following lines facts which could be corroborated by eye witness or exactly contemporaneous accounts are given without value judgements.

Rana Pratap was becoming impatient on Man Singh's delaying tactics and he wanted to attack him at Mandalgarh itself. Discretion being the better part of valour, his sardars prevailed upon him to stop the passage of the Mughal army at Haldighati.¹ In June Man Singh slowly proceeded towards Goganda. The two armies met at Haldighati on June 18, 1576. Elaborate preparations were made on both sides. The battle of Haldighati has attracted great attention in recent times. Fourth centenary celebrations were observed all over the country not long ago - in June 1976. The Prime Minister flew to the place of conflict, a large number of people witnessed the spectacle of celebrations then the combatants on both sides. The Rana organised his three thousand strong army supported by Bhil archers on the traditional basis keeping himself in the centre on his famous steed Chetak. His van too was led by Hakim Sur. On the otherside Man Singh riding on an elephant was in the centre and Asaf Khan supported by Jagannath led the van. The battle was fierce. Initially the Sisodias dominated. The Mughal army would have lost the battle but for the courage of Saiyeds of Barha and the mainbody of Kachhwahas led by Man Singh himself. Finally the Mughal won and the Rana escaped with his precious life leaving the famous Chetak and 500 companions dead on the battlefield. On the side of Man Singh there was a loss of live of 150 men.²

1. Motamad Khan, Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri, Vol. II, p. 382.

2. A.N. Vol. II, pp. 166, 173-175, 185; Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 228-231, 236; Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 484; Maasirul Umra, Vol. II, p. 49; Nainsi's Khayat, Vol. I, pp. 68-69, Vanshavalī Jaipur, pp. 38, 39; Vir Vinod, Vol. II, p. 153.

Akbar was so sure of the success of the assignment of Man Singh that he broke his camp at Ajmer and went back to Fatehpur Sikri. Man Singh's victory at Haldighati did not impress the emperor. The net gain was the town of Goganda which meant nothing to Akbar. The Rana had escaped. Man Singh did not pursue him nor did he allow his army to devastate Rana's territory. Akbar did not approve of this policy as he wanted an early termination of Mewar affair. Man Singh was reprimanded for his post battle policy but he was able to create a good impression of his qualities of leadership and command.

Failure of Man Singh in capturing or killing the Rana filled Akbar with wrath and he immediately started for Ajmer to supervise the campaign against the Rana personally. In September 1576 he reached Ajmer along with Bhagwant Das. The battle of Haldighati had made the Rana wiser and he avoided an open battle, and on the approach of the emperor, retired into the hills. Akbar had already witnessed the singular courage and boldness of the Rajputs at the siege of Chittor but now he had to meet the endurance of the freedom-loving Sisodias. Akbar dispatched two armies simultaneously one against Rana Pratap, and the other against Narain Das, the ruler of Idar. Bhagwant Das was placed in the army which was sent against Mewar. This army probably was under the joint command of Qutbuddin Khan and Bhagwant Das. They were ordered 'to go into the hollows of the hills and lay hands on the villainous dwellers in the ravine' and also clear the passage for the emperor's march into the Rana's territory. They were also

ordered to escort the Haj caravan through the Rana's territory. Passing through the Haldighati and Goganda, Bhagwant Das escorted the caravan safely upto Panwara where the responsibility of the safety of the Haj pilgrims was assumed by another army which had been sent to Idar.¹

Bhagwant Das and Qutbuddin searched for the Rana in vain and after conducting the caravan safely out of the Rana's territory, they returned to Goganda but when they learnt that Akbar was camping at Udaipur, they returned to join him. Bhagwant Das's only achievement in this expedition was the escorting of the caravan through the hostile territory safely. The chivalrous Rana made no attempt to molest the pilgrims who were allowed to pass without an incident. Bhagwant Das, Qutbuddin and their companions were severely reprimanded by the emperor for returning without accomplishing the commission, and without orders.²

Akbar's presence in the heart of Mewar created a powerful impression upon the neighbouring rulers of Dungarpur, Banswara and Sirohi who submitted to the emperor but the Rana remained as elusive as ever.

1. A.N. Vol.III, pp. 185, 190, 191, 192; Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 241-242; Nizamuddin, vol. II, p. 496; Maasirul Umra, vol. II, pp. 241-242 states that Payanda Khan Mughal was also sent with Bhagwant Das.

According to Badaoni and Nizamuddin the emperor sent a farman to Qutbuddin and Bhagwant Das to stay at Goganda and hand over charge of the pilgrims to Quli Khan. Some time later, both Qutbuddin and Bhagwant Das were recalled and Bhagwant Das was appointed with Saiyyed Abdulla at the entrance of the ghati of Udaipur. Keeping watch over the entrance to Udaipur seems to be an additional assignment to Bhagwant Das before he was sent with Mir bahr, Qasim Khan and Abdur Rahim, the future Khan Khanan, ibid.

2. Abul Fazl, op.cit., pp. 192-194.

Bhagwant Das was debarred from audience for his failure against the Rana till he 'confessed his shortcomings and apologised'. Akbar was not disappointed at the successive failures of the Kachhwaha leaders and gave them another chance by deputing Bhagwant Das and Man Singh under the command of the veteran leader Qasim Khan, the Mir Bahr, and Mirza Khan (later Khan Khanan) a young leader of noble birth, against the Rana. They organised the campaign with greater care and established thanas in the territory. They also settled friendly people on the fields vacated by the subjects of the Rana. The anti-Mughal Rajputs would not let their fields be cultivated by strangers without a challenge. Once they attacked the new cultivators in the jurisdiction of the thana of Mohi. Mujahid Beg, the thanadar of Mohi, without waiting for the arrival of Man Singh, who had gone for a routine patrol duty into the defiles, attacked the Rajputs, and was killed. Qasim Khan, the builder of bridges over the flooded rivers and the destroyer of the mighty forts, was an utter failure against an enemy who could hardly be seen and this expedition was as unsuccessful as the earlier.¹

1. A.N. Vo. III, pp. 195, 196, 216.

Prasad has written Muhammad Khan for Mirza Khan (Abdur Fahim Khan Khanan). Beveridge in the translation of Akbarnama has used several abbreviations and one of them is M for Mirza. Prasad perhaps, thought that M stood for Muhammad which certainly was a more popular name among the Muslims. Prasad has committed such mistakes at other places too.

In spite of the successive failures of the Kachhwahas against the Sisodias, Akbar did not lose trust in them though some of his officers started doubting their sincerity. Bhagwant Das and Man Singh were again appointed under the command of the seasoned leader, Shahbaz Khan, against the Rana, who, after the loss of Goganda, had made the strong fortress of Kumbalgarh his abode. Bhagwant Das and Man Singh stayed for five months with Shahbaz Khan but when the latter attacked the fortress of Kumbalgarh he sent them back to the court 'lest from the feelings as landholders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber'. This must have, surely hurt the Kachhwaha leaders immensely but Abul Fazl, in his characteristic style mentions this episode without any comment. Akbar also did not object to their being sent back.¹

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 218, 238.

CHAPTER II

KACHHWAHAS IN THE WEST : 1578 - 1587

Bhagwant Das and Man Singh, who were sent back by Shahbaz Khan from Kumbalgarh, arrived at the imperial camp which was near Bhera in Pakistan in April, 1578.¹ They remained with the emperor on his return march from Bhera till he reached Sirhind. While crossing the river Sutlaj, Haji Khan, a Baluchi chief, escaped from the imperial camp. Haji Khan and other Baluchis had submitted to Akbar at Bhera but the freedom-loving tribesmen did not like the idea of serving the king in a distant land, far away from their homes. Man Singh and Zain Khan Koka were sent in their pursuit but the Baluchis escaped without injury because the imperial officers did not get intelligence about the whereabouts of the Baluchis in time.²

Before leaving Sirhind, Akbar asked Todarmal to stay back in the Punjab to arrange the jagirs of the Kachhwaha officers³ who were to serve in the Punjab. We are told that Sialkot, a very strategic border town governing the route to the Kashmir valley, was assigned to Man Singh in jagir.⁴

Visiting several places and leisurely marching through Delhi, Mathura and Ajmer, Akbar reached Fatehpur in October, 1579.

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 243.

2. Ibid., p. 248.

3. Ibid.

4. Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 622.

Shortly after his arrival at the capital, Todarmal and Bhagwant Das also arrived from the Punjab.¹ Bhagwant Das stayed for a few months at Agra or Amber and in early 1579, he along with his brother Jagannath and many other Rajputs like Raja Gopal and Jagmal Panwar was sent to the Punjab. Each of them was presented with a horse and a robe of honour and they were advised to 'exert themselves in service and not depart from the advice of Saeed Khan (the governor of the Punjab) and should not slumber in administering the province and in keeping up their own preparedness'.² It was for the first time that some kind of administrative assignment was given to Bhagwant Das. We do not know about the exact nature of his work but it appears that he was asked to stay at Lahore and assist Saeed Khan, the governor. Importance of Bhagwant Das had increased in the Punjab because most of the Kachhwahas were given jagirs there. The appointment of a large number of Rajputs in the Punjab is not without significance.

Mirza Sulaiman, having failed in securing Akbar's military assistance for the recovery of his kingdom, Badakhshan, from his grandson, Mirza Shahrukh, returned to Kabul which was ruled by his son-in-law Mirza Hakim. In 1579, Sulaiman and Hakim invaded Badakhshan. Shahrukh, on the approach of the two armies took shelter in the strong fortress of Qunduz. Akbar learnt about the

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 248-49.

2. Ibid., p. 262.

discomfiture of his ally, Shahrukh, in October 1579. He immediately ordered Saeed Khan, Bhagwant Das and other officers of the Punjab and Multan to march upon Badakhshan for the relief of Shahrukh. The idea of fighting in the coming winter, in the snow-covered hills of Hindukush and Sulaiman, must have chilled the blood of the Mughal officers, but luckily when the Punjab army was mobilising itself, Sulaiman and Shahrukh agreed to divide the kingdom between them, and Mirza Hakim, satisfied at the role of an arbitrator, returned to Kabul. It is very surprising that at a time when Akbar's hands were full, when the indications of the great uprising in the eastern provinces had appeared, and the important generals were busy there and elsewhere, he should have ordered his officers of the western provinces who had neither resources nor the status, to lead a large army through a hostile country, into Badakhshan, and open a new front in the west on an issue which had no direct bearing on his empire. It appears that the mobilisation of the western army was only meant to threaten the invaders and break the coalition of Hakim and Sulaiman. Surely Mirza Sulaiman who had witnessed the might and resources of Akbar and the strength of his numerous armies in 1575 would not commit himself to a conflict with him. Mirza Sulaiman, therefore, hastily agreed to divide the country with his grandson on the basis of an earlier settlement with Shahrukh's father, who had died. Shahrukh was equally keen for the settlement because Mirza Hakim and Abdullah Khan, the Uzbek ruler, had exchanged ambassadors in this connection. When Akbar learnt about these developments, he happily ordered the demobilisation of the western army.¹

1. A.N. Vol.III, p. 288. Abdullahnama, ff. 484b gives the impression that Mirza Shahrukh agreed to surrender a large part of his kingdom because of his fears of Abdullah Khan Uzbek's intervention. See Dr. Abdur Rahim, Mughal Relations with Persia and Central Asia, Islamic Culture, Vols. VIII & IX, 1934-35.

Bhagwant Das and many other members of his family had been assigned jagirs in the Punjab, and some of them were sent to suppress the great revolt in the east. Among the Kachhwahas posted in the Punjab, Uchla, son of Balbhadra, and Mohan, Sur Das and Tiloksi the first cousins of Bhagwant Das, created a very embarrassing situation for the latter. They left their post in the Punjab and went to their home in Boli in the sarkar of Ranthambhore, without leave and created disturbance in the sarkar. We do not know the exact cause of their flight from the Punjab. It is possible that they had quarrelled with their cousin Bhagwant Das, who was supposed to be the head of the family after the death of Bharahmall, or they were not satisfied with their working conditions and their remunerations. Dastam Khan, the governor of Ajmer, out of regard to the Kachhwaha family which was closely associated with the emperor, did not take any action against them. But Adam Tajband brought orders from the court that if they did not submit by persuasion, they were to be punished. Dastam Khan, without making adequate preparations, went to their home and an encounter took place between his forces and the rebel Kachhwahas in which Uchla and the three brothers died manfully, and one of them fatally wounded Dastam Khan before he died.¹

When Akbar learnt about the plans of the invasion of Mirza Hakim, a sizable section of his army was busy in the east. This was the most serious crisis in his life. Akbar met the crisis with

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 326.

success on account of the solid support he got from a large section of the nobility, and particularly the Hindus. The Rajputs and other Hindu nobles supported the enlightened emperor in one body. In fact their interests were identical to those of the emperor. Akbar's failure would have meant the loss of privileges recently secured by them.

Mirza Hakim's invasion was preceded by the probing attacks of Nuruddin, and later of Shadman, who was a close associate of the Mirza, and was considered 'the sword of the army'. Man Singh, the son of Bhagwant Das, who had recently been appointed commander of the Indus, intercepted Shadman on December 22, 1580, and defeated him. The Kachhwahas alone were responsible for this victory. Shadman was fatally wounded by Bhagwant Das's son Suraj Singh, the commander of the altamash, in a hand to hand combat.¹

When the news of the defeat and death of Shadman reached Fatehpur, Akbar mobilised his forces. He sent Jagannath and other Rajput officers as an advance party to strengthen the town of Lahore. Akbar's strategy to meet this challenge was to allow free passage to the Mirza up to Lahore, which should be defended till his (Akbar's) arrival there. Officers of Indus were ordered that if the Mirza should proceed to cross the river they were not to oppose him, but to put off an engagement.²

1. A.N., Vol.III, pp. 336-37; Badaoni, Vol.II, pp.291-92; Nizamuddin, Vol.II, p. 544.

2. A.N., Vol.III, p. 337.

When Mirza Hakim attacked Lahore on February 6, 1581, Akbar left Patehpur with a mammoth army. The officers of the Punjab, including the Kachhwahas like Bhagwant Das, Jagannath, Man Singh, Suraj Singh and Alu Khan did not according to the instructions oppose the Mirza but strengthened the defences of Lahore and shut themselves in the fort. Akbar liesurely proceeded towards Lahore. He did not want to engage the Mirza into a military conflict and he hoped that the Mirza himself would abandon the siege in despair after some time. The Mirza was given to understand that there would be large scale disertions in Akbar's army and he could get the fabulous empire without a contest. After a siege of three weeks the Mirza got exasperated and returned to Kabul. Akbar did not allow his officers to pursue him.¹

Unlike the rock fortresses the fort of Lahore was not very strong but Bhagwant Das and his colleagues defended it very bravely. They repulsed several attacks of the besiegers led by Sher Khwaja, Nad Ali, Qurban Ali and Mir Sikandar.² After successfully defending Lahore Bhagwant Das and other officers went to welcome their master and paid their respects to him at Machiwara on the west bank of Sutlaj.³ Each officer was rewarded with special favours. Bhagwant Das joined the emperor's camp

1. A.N. Vol. III, pp. 344-45; Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 545.

2. A.N. Vol. III, p. 346.

3. Ibid., p. 347.

and proceed with him towards Kabul. Akbar was very keen to avoid a war with his brother and offered to him very liberal terms of surrender. But when the negotiations failed, Akbar ordered Man Singh to cross the river Indus, the boundry between the two kingdoms, and to proceed to Peshawar in early June, 1581. Man Singh's presence on the western bank of Indus did not create any impression on Mirza Hakim. Akbar, therefore, ordered Sultan Murad to cross the river on July 27, 1581, and make an assault on Kabul. Man Singh's forces were also ordered to join the army of Murad.¹

The Hindus, particularly the Kachhwahas and other Rajputs, were conspicuously present in large numbers in this campaign, and unlike the Gujarat campaigns of 1573, they were not merely personal attendants of the emperor but they were real leaders of war with independent military ranks. Abul Fazl has recorded the names of many leaders like Rai Rai Singh, Rai Durga, Madan Chohan, Ram Chand (Kachhwaha), Thakur Sahai, Prithviraj, Ram Das Chauhan, Mathura Das, Sanwal Das, Askarn (not the Kachhwaha), Suraj Singh, Man Singh, Madhava Singh, Man Singh Darbari, Jagmal Salahdar, Surjan (not Rai Surjan), Sakat Singh, Jagat Rai (Singh?), Ram Chand (of Bikaner?) and Bhagwan Das.²

1. A.N. Vol.III, p. 353; Nizamuddin, Vol.II, p.564; see infra, p.44

Nizamuddin writes that 'Bhagwant Das and Man Singh who were governors of the Punjab were ordered to cross the river Indus'. It is evident from Abul Fazl's account that Bhagwant Das stayed with the emperor and Man Singh was ordered to cross the river. Moreover, Man Singh was never appointed sole or joint governor of the Punjab.

2. A.N., Vol. III, p. 353.

Man Singh proceeded towards Kabul in the army of Murad and Akbar followed the prince in stages and reached Peshawar. Akbar left his harem and heavy equipment of war there with Saeed Khan and Bhagwant Das under the nominal command of his eldest son, Saleem. He ordered them to follow him stage by stage while he himself made rapid march towards Kabul to support the prince if the need arose.¹

Akbar made a successful entry into Kabul on August 9, 1561. He stayed there for a few days, restored the kingdom to his brother under the nominal sovereignty of his sister and returned towards India. Akbar joined the main camp which was being brought by Bhagwant Das and others at Jalalabad. Later the army of Murad also joined them and together they marched towards the Punjab.² While the imperial camp was at Sarai Daulat, Bhagwant Das requested the emperor to honour him with a visit to his house/camp. Akbar was only too happy to oblige his brother-in-law and faithful servant.³ Bhagwant Das and other officers of the Punjab accompanied the emperor in his return march till he reached Sirhind, the border town of the subas of Delhi and Lahore. While Akbar proceeded towards the capital the officers of the Punjab returned to their posts.⁴

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 359; Badaoni, vol. II, p. 294,

2. A.N. Vol. III, p. 369.

3. Ibid., p. 372.

4. Ibid., p. 372.

After his return from Kabul, Akbar appointed Bhagwant Das and Saeed Khan joint governors of Lahore.¹ Although Abul Fazl does not refer to this appointment yet at one place he uses the word sipahsalar, the commander-in-chief, for Bhagwant Das. Sipahsalar, Naqin and Hakim were used for governors. Nizamuddin and Badaoni record that Saeed Khan, Bhagwant Das and Man Singh were appointed governors of Lahore. We are told by Abul Fazl that Man Singh was appointed commander of the Indus region², it is therefore highly unlikely that he too held a joint charge of the province.

Lahore remained under the joint charge of Bhagwant Das and Saeed Khan till the end of 1582. Perhaps Saeed Khan could not work in harmony with the Raja and created difficulties in the smooth administration of the province. Akbar, therefore, transferred Saeed Khan to the suba of Delhi in a lower position and appointed the Raja sole governor of Lahore in January, 1583.³

On account of their important role in the suppression of the great uprising of 1580-82, many Kachhwaha leaders secured higher ranks. They were given assignments, independent of their family chief, which made them free from the control of the head of Amber state but at the same time made them more dependent upon the emperor.

1. Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 552; Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 295.

2. A.N., Vol. III, p. 372.

3. Ibid., p. 397.

The Punjab remained quiet after the invasion of Mirza Hakim, the peasantry was peaceful and the Rajas of Siwalik, Jammu and Himachal remained friendly. Bhagwant Das, the governor, had an easy time but Abdullah Khan Uzbek's invasion over Badakhshan in 1584 revived political activity in the Punjab. Ever since Mirza Sulaiman re-occupied Badakhshan and agreed to part with some districts in favour of Shahrukh in 1579, there was little peace in that kingdom. They intrigued against each other which ultimately resulted in the loss of their kingdom. In the beginning of 1584, Abdullah Khan Uzbek had a walk over when he attacked Badakhshan and the two Mirzas sought protection under Mirza Hakim who, apprehensive of the policy of expansion of the Uzbek chief, had already sought the support of Akbar which had been duly promised.¹ Akbar was following developments in Badakhshan and Kabul with keen interest. He had instructed Mirza Hakim to send the Mirzas to his court. Sulaiman decided to stay in Afghanistan while Shahrukh came to India. He was received at Indus by Man Singh who gave him a very warm welcome and provided him with money and other necessities of life and had him escorted upto Lahore. Bhagwant Das, the governor of Lahore, gave a grand feast in his honour and escorted him personally up to Fatehpur where they arrived on January 3, 1585.²

Bhagwant Das's arrival at Fatehpur in early 1585 was not a mere chance visit. He seems to have come at Akbar's instance.

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 434-35.

2. Ibid., p. 447.

Akbar must have been thinking about the marriage of his eldest son, Saleem, who was about sixteen year old. He had offered to accept, as early as 1578 when Saleem was not even ten years old, the daughter of Mirza Hakim as his daughter-in-law but the offer was rejected by the Mirsa.¹ Akbar now searched for a family of 'lofty lineage', outside his own family, for this connection. He selected Man Bai, daughter of Bhagwant Das 'whose purity adorned her high extraction' as the spouse of his successor to the great Indian empire. Akbar's desire for the continuation of the matrimonial alliance with the Kachhwahas in the succeeding generation speaks well of the respect and position of trust enjoyed by Bhagwant Das at the imperial court. How envious the other nobles would be of Bhagwant Das' position.

The wedding of Saleem and Man Bai was celebrated in a grand style on February 3, 1585. Great preparations were made on both the sides and much customary visits preceded the wedding for several days. Normal practice of the dola of the bride being brought to the royal palace for the marriage ceremony was not insisted upon in this case but a large marriage procession, including the highest amirs, headed by the emperor and the prince, proceeded towards the house of Raja with great regalia and amidst much rejoicing. The marriage was solemnised at the residence of Bhagwant Das by observing both Hindu and Muslim rites and ceremonies, nikah and phere or bhanwar. A sum of twenty million tankah was fixed as mahr, the contract money. Nizam-ud-Din & Badaoni have given an account of the dowry given by the Raja to his daughter which included, among other things, gold

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 245.

vessels studded with jewels, rich fabrics, a stable-ful of horses, elephants and slaves of both sexes of various nationalities.

Nizamuddin adds that so much was the dowry that 'the accountants of imagination and thought were unable to take account' of it.

Akbar escorted the bride to the prince's residence with pride, and threw handfuls of silver and gold coins, pearls and gems all the way from the Raja's house to the imperial palace. Badaoni adds that 'from the quantity of jewels and gold that were scattered, people's hands got weary of picking them up'.¹

The dowry given by Raja Bhagwant Das is the first indication of the growing prosperity of the Kachhwahas. Only about twenty three years ago their condition was so miserable that they could not pay a levy fixed by Mirza Sharafuddin and had to surrender three of the princes as hostages. Akbar's intervention and his marriage to the daughter of Bharamall saved the Kachhwahas on that occasion. How different the circumstances of the two marriages were ! This was indeed a gift of Mughal service.

In March 1585, during the celebrations of the New Year (Persian) many officers were promoted. Bhagwant Das was raised to the highest mansab of 5,000. It is surprising that Todarmal who had held the highest position in the central government and had established his position not only as a financier of exceptional quality, but also, as a great military commander and tactician,

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 450-51; Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 599; Badaoni, vol. II, p. 341.

got the mansab of 4,000 only. Bhagwant Das, on the other hand, who had no singular achievement to his credit was made a Panj hazari.¹ It is evident that merit alone was not the consideration for the award of mansabs. Bhagwant Das' personal relationship with the emperor and the fact of his being the head of a warlike tribe were considerations for this special favour.

Bhagwant Das seems to have returned to Lahore after the New Year's celebrations were over.

In 1581, Man Singh and other Rajputs played an important role in the triumphant entry of Akbar into Kabul. After Akbar's return from Kabul, Man Singh was again appointed incharge of the Indus region. Man Singh's spectacular rise begins with this appointment. He displayed immense courage and ability in the battles in Afghanistan and was largely responsible for the success of Murad's army at Kabul.² Man Singh governed the Indus region with ease because Mirza Hakim did not create any problem and the subjects were contented. In July 1585, Mirza Hakim died. On the order of Akbar, Man Singh rushed to Kabul and by his quick action and generosity brought the kingdom under his control.³ Akbar who had

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 457.

2. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 348-349, 351, 363; Monserrate's *Commentarius* pp. 73, 102-106, 108-110, 113-118, 121, 123-126 etc.; Nizamuddin, *op. cit.* 359-360.

3. A.N., vol. III, pp. 473, 476.

himself reached Rawalpindi, was immensely pleased with Man Singh's achievement. Man Singh presented the sons of Hakim to Akbar on December 7, 1585, at Rawalpindi. In the same month Akbar entrusted him with task of suppressing a powerful religio-political movement among the Afghans, known as Roushanias movement and was also directed to clear the Khaiber pass from the Roushanias whom the Mughals nicknamed Tarikis. Jalal was their leader when Akbar annexed Afghanistan. Jalal's movement assumed the form of a liberation struggle directed against Mirza Hakim and his successor Akbar.¹

The Roushanias gave a tough time to Man Singh. He could, with great difficulty, clear the pass for the safe arrival of Mir Quresh, the ambassador of Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the ruler of Turan. Man Singh who was to go to Kabul where he had left his eldest son Jagat Singh, was obliged to stay back to suppress the Roushanias.²

Although a large number of contemporary sources state that Man Singh was appointed governor of Kabul in December 1585, yet it appears from Man Singh's assignment of the suppression of Roushanias and his formal appointment as the governor of Kabul towards the end of April 1586, that in December 1585, he could

1. Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 398; Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 349; Maasri-i-Bahini, Vol. I, p. 909; Dabistan-i-Mazahib, pp. 304-310.
2. A.N., Vol. III, p. 486-487; Bayasid, op.cit., p. 365.

not take charge of the province of Kabul and remained on the eastern side of Khaibar. It is evident from the following chronology that he did not go to Kabul after he returned from there till the middle of 1586.

Man Singh's departure from Kabul with the sons of Mirza Hakim.

November 16, 1585.

Man Singh's arrival at Rawalpindi to join Akbar.

December 7, 1585.

Man Singh ordered to go to Kabul but to suppress the Roushanias first; Akbar gave him advice.

December 24, 1585.

News of Man Singh's victory at Ali Masjid.

February 14, 1586.

Man Singh appointed against Yusufzai, under the supervision of Todarmal.

Early March, 1586.

Todarmal's satisfaction at Man Singh's arrangements against Yusufzai and his return to the court.

March 28, 1586.

Bhagwant Das appointed governor of Kabul; illness of Bhagwant Das and the appointment and disgrace of Ismail Quli; Ismail Quli replaced Man Singh; Man Singh appointed governor of Kabul.

End of April, 1586.¹

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 473-476, 486-487, 492.



Mirza Sulaiman came to Kabul in September 1586, and expressed his desire to go to the imperial court. The Afghans under the leadership of Jalal, their leader, had organised themselves against the Mughals. Under such circumstances a very strong force was required to escort the Mirza through the Khaibar Pass. Man Singh himself decided to escort the Mirza. Man Singh's term as the governor of Kabul was consumed in his effort to secure a safe passage for the Mirza through the hostile region. It took him more than four months to get to the east of Khaibar Pass. It must have been a great relief for Man Singh to have breathed in the plains, east of Khaibar because the Roushanias put up a strong resistance and fought grim battles. At one stage Man Singh's army was at the brink of annihilation but the timely arrival of his brother Madhava Singh with the contingents of his father, saved him from disaster.¹

One does not fail to notice the contradictory attitude of modern historians towards the resistance to the Mughal aggression by the Afghans of the North West Frontier Province of Pakistand and the Sisodias of Mewar. Even those historians who consider the resistance of Rana Pratap as unwise, leave no stone unturned in his praise for his love of freedom and spirit of sacrifice, and his 'glorious deeds' with meagre resources, against a mighty and resourceful monarch, Akbar. Jalal and his Roushania supporters, taking advantage of their hilly retreats like Rana Pratap, resisted the equally mighty and resourceful

1. A.N., Vol.III, pp. 510-514; Nizamuddin, pp. 404-405; Badaoni, op. cit., pp. 354-355.

Akbar with equally meagre resources but they had receive no better names than the 'turbulent Tarikis', 'ever-rebellious Afghans' and the highway robbers. But for his religious views which had alienated the gunnis, Jalal called by his supporters 'king of Pashtus' ~~and~~ could create more serious problems for Akbar.

In March, 1587, Man Singh after his removal from the governorship of Kabul was directed to destroy the Roushanias completely. In fact Man Singh had been fighting against them for the last two years. In spite of their sustaining defeats they represented a formidable opposition to the Mughal rule. Man Singh's presence at Jamrud dispersed them. Once the Roushanias left Jamrud and its environs, Man Singh felt satisfied and did not try to destroy them. Akbar got angry at Man Singh's inaction and strongly reprimanded him. On April 18, 1587, he sent a strong force under Abdul Muttalib against the Roushanias by way of Bangash and also sent an order to Man Singh, who was at Jamrud, to proceed against them via Peshawar and cooperate with Abdul Muttalib in their suppression. Man Singh willy nilly had to march but he could not put his heart and soul in the expedition. In August, 1587, at Dar Samand the Mughal army, under the command of Abdul Muttalib, gave a crushing defeat to the Roushanias.¹

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 520-521.

The period of Man Singh's assignment in Afghanistan and the North West Frontier of Pakistan (1585-1587) was a period of great strain. Towards the end of 1586, he seriously fell ill. He had to fight even when he was unwell. It was during this tenure that Man Singh must have learnt that stereotype models of public administration could not work with Akbar, and that he had to be more imaginative. His lenient policy towards the Rajputs in Mewar in 1576, and repression of the subjects in Afghanistan in 1586, both were disapproved of by the emperor.

The Rajputs of Rajputana had been, upto that time, generally confined to their place of birth. Kachhwahas were the first to come out in large numbers to serve the Mughal empire in the distant lands. The 'exploits' of Man Singh during his tenure as governor of Kabul still form the theme of local songs.¹

The Kachhwahas were intimately connected with the problem of Kashmir ever since they were appointed to the government of Lahore. Shortly after his accession, Sultan Yusuf Shah had to flee from the valley on account of the hostility of his nobles. He came to Sialkot, the jagir of Man Singh, to seek Mughal protection and assistance. Man Singh took him to Patehpur to represent his case before the emperor in January, 1580. Akbar received Yusuf Shah with favour and asked Man Singh and the other officers of the Punjab to give him military support for the recovery of his kingdom. Man Singh organised a force for this purpose and

proceeded there. The Kashmiris wanted to avoid a conflict with the Mughals and secretly advised Sultan Yusuf to come alone and assume sovereignty. When the army reached Sialkot he quietly slipped from the camp and went to Kashmir. Akbar considered it an act of treason on the part of Yusuf Shah and sent Aqil Salih to demand his submission. Yusuf Shah was essentially a coward and an unstable man. He had seen the strength of the imperial arms and was afraid of Akbar. When Aqil Salih came to Srinagar he readily agreed to send his younger son, Haider, to attend upon the emperor with choicest gifts. Aqil Salih returned to Fatehpur with Haider in 1582, and reported the loyalty of Yusuf Shah. On the recommendation of Aqil Salih, Shaikh Yaqub Kashmiri was sent to Srinagar as Akbar's ambassador. Haider was also given leave to join his father. Akbar had not approved of Haider's coming to the court because he was very young, and summoned Yusuf's eldest son to the court. Yusuf Shah agreed to send his eldest son, Yaqub, who arrived at Fatehpur on February 9, 1585.

The death of Mirza Hakim brought Akbar to the Punjab. When he was at Kalanaur he sent his envoy to Srinagar to bring Yusuf Shah to render personal homage. Yaqub got suspicious and fled from the imperial camp at Khawaspur. Akbar was alarmed at his escape and modified his stand by not insisting on Yusuf's personal homage but demanded the return of Yaqub. Akbar's envoys sent to Srinagar returned disappointed on December 13, 1585. Sultan Yusuf Shah had politely declined to come personally or send his son, Yaqub.¹

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 280, 318-19, 375, 389-390, 450, 469, 474; Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 756.

The annexation of Badakhshan by Abdullah Khan Uzbek and the annexation of Afghanistan by Akbar brought about a complete change in the political situation in the north western region of Indo-Pak sub-continent. The two mighty rulers and the two great empires had come face to face. Akbar considered the consolidation and complete control over the North West Frontier region absolutely necessary for the security of his hard-earned empire. He dispatched three armies almost simultaneously on December 20, 1585, to bring the region under control. Zain Khan Koka and several other leaders were sent to conquer Swat and Bajaur. Ismail Quli was sent to Baluchistan and Bhagwant Das was sent to conquer Kashmir. Perhaps Akbar was anticipating Abdullah Khan's intervention in this region. He, therefore, hastily sent these armies without making adequate preparations and taking necessary precautions. He sent the Kashmir expedition at a time which was highly disadvantageous to an invading army. A prolonged war in the bitter winter in Kashmir which has a lot of snow, could be disastrous.

The Kashmir expedition was practically headed by Raja Bhagwant Das. It included leaders like Mirza Shahrukh, former ruler of Badakhshan, Shah Quli Khan Mahram who had been with the Raja in several other expeditions, Madhava Singh, the son of the Raja, and many others. Aminuddin Khan was appointed Bakshi of the army. Bhagwant Das and his colleagues were not prepared to risk disaster and made a cautious plan to attack the enemy after the winter was over, and to go by Bhinbar, which had a wide pass to enable a large army to cross it without much difficulty, and also because the ganindars of the neighbourhood of Bhinbar were friendly. Akbar

who wanted to create a lightening effect of his presence there on his neighbours, particularly Abdullah Khan Uzbek, disapproved of their plan and ordered them to proceed immediately via Pakhli route which was, no doubt, difficult to cross but had less of snow. He thought that they could thus surprise the enemy. The Mughal commanders had to proceed against their will. When the Mughal army reached Buliyas Pass, about fifty miles from Srinagar, they found their passage blocked by the Kashmiris. Yusuf, as always, was undecided but his nobles insisted on resistance to the Mughal aggression on their country. Bhagwant Das and his companions who had been forced to undertake this arduous task could foresee the outcome of this expedition. Arrangement for the proper maintenance of the line of communication with the base were not made nor were there any arrangement for the regular supply of stores and provisions. Bhagwant Das was desperately trying to terminate this expedition gracefully. He decided to attack the weakest link in the Kashmiri resistance, i.e. their king. He gave him promises and threats. The vacillating Sultan, unnerved by the threats, betrayed his army and secretly came and joined the Mughal camp. He made a treaty of peace and agreed to pay personal homage to Akbar. Bhagwant Das knew that this treaty was a sham because Yusuf had lost control over his people and any agreement with him would be ineffective in Kashmir. For Bhagwant Das it was face saving device - a retreat with grace.

When Akbar learnt about the settlement he highly disapproved of it and ordered that the country should first be conquered. The officers, 'willing or unwilling', had to advance. When the Kashmiris

found that their leader had deserted them. They elected Husain Khan Chak their leader but soon Yaqub, the son of Yusuf, joined them, and they made him their leader and put up a stiff resistance. There were intermittent fights for several days in the pass in which the Mughals suffered heavily. Madhava Singh and Aminuddin could clear the pass with difficulty. Through the influence of Yaqub Kashmiri, a Mughal officer, the samindars of Kama, who were of the Chaghtai origin, made submission and promised to allow the worn out imperial army to pass through their villages. But, about the same time, the news of Zain Khan Koka's defeat and the slaughter of several generals of rupture with thousands of Mughal soldiers on February 14, 1586, at the hands of the Afghans, completely demoralised the Mughal officers who were already under great strain on account of the weather, and the famine conditions in the army. In fact, both the sides were at the point of breakdown. Under such conditions, a proposal of peace was readily accepted by the rival leaders. Bhagwant Das, overlooking the mandate of conquering the country first, made a treaty with the Kashmiris on February 22, 1586.

It was agreed upon that Sultan Yusuf Shah would be recognised as the ruler of Kashmir and he would make a formal submission to the emperor by a personal visit. Bhagwant Das guaranteed safety of his life and honour. It was further agreed that the Khutba would be read in the name of Akbar and the coins would also be stamped with his name. It was also decided that the income from (a) mint, (b) saffron, (c) game and, (d) silk and wool, would be collected by the Mughal officers who would take charge of these departments with immediate effect. The charge of saffron, silk and wool was made over to Qalander Beg, that of the mint to Khwaja Miraki and that of the game to Mashari.

After concluding the treaty the Mughal army returned with Yusuf Shah.¹

Bhagwant Das arrived at the imperial camp at Atak, with his shattered army. He also brought, according to the agreement, Sultan Yusuf Shah who appeared before the emperor on March 28, 1586. Akbar repudiated the settlement to which he had accorded his consent,² arrested the ruler and handed him over to Todarmal. Akbar had not the slightest hesitation in repudiating the settlement and imprisoning a ruler whose safety of life and honour had been guaranteed by Amir-ul-Umara. Raja Bhagwant Das, the governor of the prestigious province of Lahore, the commander of the Kashmir expedition, his brother-in-law and the father-in-law of the star of the mansion of sovereignty, prince Sultan Saleem, the mansabdar of the highest order holding the special privileges of the drum and the standard.

The utter failure of the two major expeditions sent against the Afghans and for the conquest of Kashmir in the presence of Mir Quresh, the ambassador of Abdullah Khan Uzbek, humbled the pride of Akbar. The rising power of Abdullah Khan and the hostility of the Afghans in the province of Kabul had created a situation in which Kashmir could not be left under a vacillating ruler whose loyalty was doubtful. Akbar gave precedence to expediency over moral scruples.

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 475, 480-81; Nizamuddin, Vol. II, pp. 612-613; Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 348, 352; Brij Narain and S.R. Sharma, A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, Calcutta, 1957, p. 22; Firishta, Vol. II, p. 367; Bayazid Bayat, Tasikara Humayun va Akbar, Calcutta, 1941, 1941, p. 369.

2. A.N. Vol. III, p. 481.

Akbar's blatant disregard of Bhagwant Das' commitments to Sultan Yusuf shattered his confidence in himself and his master. He could never recover from this nerve-wrecking shock. Though he lived three more years after this episode but his political career had come to a dead end. Raja Bhagwant Das was still in a state of shock when his appointment as the governor of Afghanistan was announced. The Raja who had suffered much humiliation made certain conditions with regard to his authority and power before he could assume the charge of the province. He, also seems to have used some unpleasant language in this connection.¹ In normal circumstances such demands on the part of an officer however great and important he might be, could provoke the emperor to take a severe action. Shahbaz Khan Mirbakhshi was thrown into prison for objecting to his placement behind Mirza Khan, the son of Bairam Khan, in a formal function. In the case of Bhagwant Das the emperor adopted a lenient view, perhaps, because of his own guilty conscience over the Kashmir affair. Akbar withdrew the offer and appointed Sultan Daniyal to the government of Afghanistan. Bhagwant Das soon realised the impropriety of his demand and 'repented a thousand times of what he had said and apologised and begged for forgiveness'. Akbar was pleased to reappoint him to head the government of Kabul. This drama seems to have enacted within a few days of his arrival from Kashmir because he had come to the court on March 28, and was given leave to go to Kabul on April 1, 1586.

Bhagwant Das crossed the Indus and established his camp in Khairabad where he stayed for few weeks to make military preparations

1. A.N., Vol.III, p. 491, Abdul Fazl writes 'On account of his evil star he propounded certain important desires, and the sovereign surmising madness restrained him from going' to Kabul.

because in that hostile region it was impossible to pass through Khaibar without adequate forces. Some time after April 24 he was suddenly taken ill. His condition became so bad that he had to be removed to Atak for treatment. The sensitive Raja still brooded over the issue of Sultan Yusuf Shah so much so that he attempted to kill himself. Abul Fazl, the official historian, has tried to hush up the affair by attributing the attempted suicide to insanity but it did not escape the notice of Badaoni who writes that he 'in order to save his self conduct and sense of honour struck himself with a dagger'. The wound was serious but not fatal. When Akbar learnt about it at Lahore he sent four of his personal physicians so that the Raja's friends might select any of them for his treatment. Mahadeva was selected for this purpose. The Raja took a long time to recover and he was never the same again. He continued to hold the charge of the province of Lahore till his death but the governorship of Lahore had sunk into insignificance because of the emperor's presence there.¹

When Bhagwant das fell ill at Khairabad, Ismail Quli Khan was asked to take charge of the province of Kabul. Like Bhagwant Das he too made certain demands which infuriated the emperor to the extent that he ordered his deportation. Ismail Quli, like Bhagwant Das apologised and the order of deportation was withdrawn but the offer of the governorship of Kabul was not renewed. He was asked to take charge of the chastisement of the Yusufzais from Man Singh, who was appointed governor of Kabul. Madhava Singh, who had an independent rank but was also assisting his father, Bhagwant Das, was asked to support Ismail Quli in the suppression of the freedom loving, or in the words of official historians of the past and some of the modern writers 'the turbulent' Afghans. Since Bhagwant Das was ill his contingents were also placed at the disposal of Ismail Quli Khan.²

1. A.N. Vol.III, p. 492. Badaoni, Vol.II, p. 353.

2. A.N. Vol. III, p. 492.

The news of the birth of a daughter on April 25, 1586, to his daughter, Man Bai, who was married to Saleem must have delighted Bhagwant Das. This child grew up as Sultan-un-Nisa Begum.¹

Bhagwant Das came to Lahore after his recovery and looked after the imperial harem. In April 1589, Muhibb Ali Rohtasi (not related to Haji Khalifa) was given Multan in jagir and Rohtas vacated by him was assigned to Bhagwant Das. These were very unlucky transfers because both of them died before they could take charge of their respective jagirs.²

On April 26, 1589, Akbar gave the charge of Lahore, which was the capital of the empire at that time, to Bhagwant Das, Todarnal and Quli Khan before he went on a visit to Kashmir and Afghanistan.³ The triumvirate worked very well but in November, 1589, it broke up due to the death of Todarnal. Bhagwant Das attended the cremation of Todarnal but when he returned to his house, he vomitted and had an attack of stranguary. He died after few days on November 14, 1589. Akbar learnt about his death at Barikab on November 26, while he was returning from Kabul. Akbar felt grieved on the death of an old companion. He conferred the title of Raja and the mansab of 5000 upon his oldest son, Man Singh, who headed the the government of Bihar.⁴

The greatness of the Kachhwaha house was by then firmly established. In 1586, Raja Bhagwant Das, Askarn, Jagannath and Man Singh occupied important positions in the empire.⁵

1.A.N., Vol.II, p. 493.

2.Ibid., pp. 525,535.

3.Ibid., p. 537.

4.Ibid., p. 570.

5.Ibid., p. 511

Bhagwant Das was a man of ordinary calibre but devoted service and loyalty and keen political sense helped him to rise to the highest dignities in the empire. For the greater part of his career his position was that of a companion, he remained attached to 'the saddle-strap' of the emperor. Between 1562 and 1578, he remained but for brief interruptions, with the emperor in thick and thin. He accompanied him day in and day out in all his battles, excursions and marches, whether it was his adventure of Parnikh, or the siege of Chittor, or the battle of Samal, we always find the faithful Raja by his side. During this period his rise was slow but steady. During the Gujarat expeditions, particularly after the battle of Samal, he acquired an important position among the nobles which got a slight setback in the following years on account of his and his son's successive failures against Rana Pratap. He lost the confidence of his colleagues and he was sent back by Shahbaz Khan when the campaign against the Rana was in progress. The success of Man Singh and other Kachhwaha princes against Mirza Hakim improved the position of Bhagwant Das. He became the governor of the Punjab and was promoted to the rank of 5000. Bhagwant Das did not live in glory for long. His mishandling of the Kashmir expedition brought his military and political career to an end, but because of the singular achievement of Man Singh, the rise of the Kachhwahas continued unabated.

His single-minded devotion to his master, his attempt to commit suicide to save his self-conduct illustrate an admirable personality. He was 'endowed with uprightness, weight of council and courage'. He was a man of strong religious conviction. When Akbar asked to join his 'Order' of Din Ilahi he like other Hindu officers

politely refused. He and his son Man Singh built a Jama Masjid at Lahore which was in use till 1650. The author of Zakhirat-ul-Khawarin¹ has paid glowing tributes to Bhagwant Das and Man Singh for their public works and their good treatment of the soldiers without discrimination on religious ground.

1. Farid Bhakhari, Zakhirat-ul-Khawarin, Vol. I, p. 107.

KACHHWAHAS IN THE EAST 1587 - 1607

Main opposition to the Mughal rule in the eastern provinces came from the Afghans. Munim Khan and Todarmal had firmly established the Mughal authority in Bihar, but recalcitrant elements were present in strength in Bengal while Orissa was completely under the sway of the Afghans, ruled by one, Qutb Khan. Hindu zamindars, the traditional ruling families were generally friendly towards the Mughals but outrageous demands of the Mughal jagirdars and governors often drove them into rebellion. When Man Singh came to Bihar as governor some time in 1588, there was all quiet on the Bihar front. Saeed Khan a very energetic officer had set the province in order before he left Bihar to take charge of the province of Bengal. Important among the big zamindars of Bihar were Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur, Raja Gajpat of Hajipur and Raja Puranmal of Gidhaur.

Shortly after arriving in Patna the Raja seems to have picked up some pretense for his attack on the zamindars. His first attack was on Gidhaur. Puranmal, the Raja, tried to defend the fort in vain and at last he was obliged to ask for protection which was gladly granted on the receipt of elephants and a large sum of money. Puranmal's daughter was married to Man Singh's brother Chander Bhan. Man Singh next fell upon peaceful and friendly Sangram Singh of Kharagpur and took elephants, rarities from him also, and returned to Patna. Thereafter, he proceeded towards Gaya against Anant Cheros and received a lot of plunder. While Man Singh was away Sultan Quli Qalmaq, the Bengal rebel attacked Purnea and

Hajipur, Jagat Singh, son of Man Singh who was looking after the capital in his father's absence, collected the forces of the jagirdars and drove the invaders away and got much plunder in the process. Valuable part of the plunder was sent to Akbar which was received at Lahore in March 1590.¹

By the end of 1589 Akbar's position in the north-west, Kashmir, eastern and central India had been firmly established. He came back to Lahore in early 1590 and started rounding off his annexations by sending forces under Khan Khanan to occupy Biluchistan and Sind in the west and in the east the officer of Bengal and Bihar were asked to march upon Orissa in February 1590 and bring it under imperial control. Man Singh took the Jharkand route and reached Bhagalpur where he waited for Saeed Khan, the governor of Bengal and his forces. There was difference of opinion between the two leaders, Saeed Khan wanted to postpone the expedition till after the rains, while Man Singh wanted to attack without loss of time.² At Jahanabad, however, the Bengal officers like Phar Khan, Babu-i-Mankali, Rai Patr Das joined him with the artillery where they camped to wait for other officers and zamindars. Quplu Khan, the ruler of Orissa was not sitting idle. He collected his forces and sent them under the command of Bahadur Kuroch, Man Singh sent his

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 576-577.

2. Please compare the attitude of Munim Khan and Raja Todarmal with those of Saeed Khan and Man Singh. It may also be observed, there might be some kind of hostility and rivalry between Saeed Khan and Man Singh. Only a decade back Man Singh and his father were Saeed Khan's subordinates in the Punjab. Later Bhagwant Das became co-governor with the Khan and finally the Khan had to vacate Lahore to make room for Bhagwant Das.

son Jagat Singh to meet the Afghans. Jagat Singh was utterly defeated by the Afghans and his life was saved with difficulty by Hamir, the Raja of Vishnupuri. The Afghan attack was a total surprise for most of Jagat Singh's men and they had no choice but to escape with their precious lives. But some brave Rajputs like Bika Rathod, Mohesh Das and Naroo Charan stood their grounds and died but not before killing Umar Khan, Meeru and the son of Humayon Quli. News spread that Jagat Singh was killed which made Man Singh very upset. A council of war was held where the dominant opinion was to postpone the campaign but the Raja declared that 'to retreat was to encourage the enemy and give up the undertaking'. He made preparations for the battle but only ten days after the incident Qutlu Khan died and Khwaja Isa raised Qutlu's young son, Naseer to the throne and opened negotiations with Man Singh. It was agreed that Akbar would be recognised as the suzerain, Khutba would be read and coins struck in his name and the Afghan would be loyal to the Mughals. The Afghans also agreed to surrender the temple of Jagannath and the adjacent territories which were made khalsa i.e. directly managed by the Mughal government. This must have given immense emotional satisfaction to Man Singh. Naseer, the new ruler waited upon Man Singh on August 15, 1590 and received weighty councils. In September Man Singh returned to Patna.¹

This treaty with the Afghans at a stage when the death of Qutlu Khan had made them leaderless was nothing short of retreat. Man Singh's father had to make a similar treaty with Yusuf Khan, the

1. A.N., III, pp. 579-581; Nizamuddin, vol. II pp. 420-421-422; Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 385.

ruler of Kashmir in worse circumstances, which had resulted in his disgrace and the annulment of the treaty but in the case of Man Singh, the emperor disapprovingly approved the treaty. It must not be taken as indulgence towards Man Singh. The need to conquer Orissa in 1590 was not as compelling as the conquest of Kashmir in 1586 on account of the disturbances in the frontier region and the annexations of Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the mighty ruler of Transoxiana.

The Afghans respected the treaty as long as the young Naseer had the benefit of the advice of Khwaja Isa, the yakil of his father. After his death the Afghans unilaterally repudiated the treaty, plundered the temple of Jagannath and attacked Raja Hemir of Vishnupuri (Bankura) who was a Mughal ally and had given shelter to Man Singh's son Jagat Singh in 1590. Man Singh informed the emperor and secured the permission to attack Orissa. He opened his second Orissa campaign on November 2, 1591. Much preparations had preceded the March. Man Singh himself took Ganges ^{route} with a large flotilla of naval boats and the main army consisting of the mansabdars and samindars of Bihar took the Jharkhand route. Saeed Khan, the governor of Bengal also arrived with more than 15000 horsemen. The Bengal and Bihar armies made rapid progress till they reached Jalesor. The Afghans strengthened their forts and mobilised their armies but at the same time opened negotiations with Man Singh and Saeed Khan. Again the Mughal commanders disagreed and could not evolve a common strategy against the enemy. The Mughal military campaigns during the reign of Akbar and also afterwards suffered from the defect of joint command, the two or three commanders hardly ever agreed on a common strategy. Even when

princes were in command their senior commanders sabotaged the campaigns. This explains the prolonged warfare in the Deccan. Saeed Khan kept his army at some distance from the Bihar army and insisted upon opening a dialogue with the Afghans for a peaceful settlement. Man Singh on the other hand wanted a military solution of the problem. When the Afghans discovered that military preparations were in progress in the camp of Man Singh they also came forward in battle array.

Man Singh gave his left to Tolak Khan and Farukh Khan, right to Rai Bhoj, Raja Sangram Singh and Baqar, the van to his own sons Durjan Singh, Sabal Singh and Sujan Singh, rear to Makhsum Khan, brother of Saeed Khan, while he himself remained in the centre. Abul Fazl has given a long list of the Afghan leaders who commanded various sections of the army but it is noteworthy there is not a single Hindu on the side of Afghans. The two armies after a few days of hesitation engaged themselves in a bitter struggle. The contest was fierce, the Afghan's fought a desperate battle but in the end they lost. Man Singh pursued the fleeing Afghans for a long distance. Afghan resistance was broken in the very first battle. Cool and calculating Saeed Khan was not prepared to play a second fiddle and retired from the campaign and went back to his province, Bengal. In July 1592 Khutba was read in the name of Akbar in Jalesor and his name was also inscribed on the coins.

Saeed Khan departed but some of his officers who had worked with Man Singh in 1590 campaign like Babu Maukali, Rai Patr Das, Pahar Khan, Baqar Asari etc. remained with Man Singh. Victory over Afghans and retirement of Saeed Khan intoxicated Man Singh.

He attacked the zamindars for no reason. He moved further south and defeated the Afghans in several small engagements. Afghans realised that the power had slipped from their hands, and they, one after the other submitted to the Mughal authority. Man Singh attacked the friendly zamindars also. One such attack was on Raja Ram Chandra of Khurda who had already sent his son to Man Singh as a mark of submission. Man Singh occupied several of his towns and forts, and acquired the loot which came with such occupation. Man Singh's depredation stopped only after Akbar reprimanded him for his excesses and advised him to be kinder. Raja Ram Chand visited Man Singh, and a friendship was established between the two. The management of the temple of Jagannath (Puri) was assigned to the rulers of Khurda.¹

After the defeat of the Afghans Man Singh adopted a lenient policy towards them, and to reconcile them, he assigned them jagirs in sarkar Khalifabad, suba Bengal. But shortly after they left to take charge of their jagirs, Man Singh revised his decision. He took away their jagirs and summoned them to his presence. Abul Fazl² considered the change of policy as shortsightedness. Prasad's apology for the change of policy is not only irrational but also highly objectionable. He writes:

1. Man Singh's conquest of Orissa and his association with the temple of Puri occupies a place of pride in the history of Kachhwahas. The Jaipur Vanshavali states that Man Singh built a temple for the main diety of Jagannath. He killed several thousand Afghans and washed his blood stained sword in the sea water at Puri with the result that the sweet sea water became bitter and saltish (when Raja Ram Chandra of Ayodhia attacked Lanka, sea water was sweet. Kachhwaha Vanshavali, f. 46 b.

Raja of Khurda was enrolled as a mansabdar of 500. A.N., Vol.III, p. 611-613, 615-616; Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 420;

2. A.N. Vol. III, p. 631.

The Kachhwaha ruler knew very well the inherent characteristics of the Afghans, viz. treachery and faithlessness whenever an opportunity presented itself. This knowledge was based on his experiences with the Afghans in Kabul and the north-west frontier regions of India.¹

Prasad has been very unfair to the Afghans in general, he has used the typical phraseology of a Mughal court historian for the Afghans who were as faithful or unfaithful as the Rajputs or any other community for that matter. The evil or good characteristics are not inherent in any race. The Afghans may take a serious offence to it. Prasad either has an illogical approach or Man Singh was a man with a short memory. According to Prasad's argument Man Singh was not aware of the 'inherent characteristics of the Afghans' when he allotted them jagirs in Bengal and shortly afterwards he recalled to his memory his 'experiences with the Afghans of Kabul' and cancelled his orders. However, Man Singh's shortsightedness and his generally harsh attitude towards the Afghans drove them into rebellion. They went to Bengal and strengthened the opposition to Mughal rule there.

After making arrangements for the administration of Orissa Man Singh returned to Rohtas and looked after the affairs of the province. Akbar was immensely pleased with the achievement of Man Singh and invited him to attend the New Year celebrations of 1594. An extraordinary reception was accorded to him at Lahore. Shahzada Saleem who had also been asked earlier to receive his grandmother, was ordered to welcome the Raja.² Like the victorious Roman general

1. Prasad, op. cit., p. 88.

2. A.N., Vol. III, p. 649.

who entered Rome in triumph, Man Singh made his entry in Lahore. By this time Man Singh and the Kachhwahas generally had risen very high in the estimation of the emperor and began to catch the imagination of historians.

The zamindars of Bihar, in spite of their wealth and larger resources than many of the rulers of Rajasthan, did not enjoy a sufficiently high status to attract the attention of the emperor. They were often subject to the whims and highhandedness of the Mughal commanders. These zamindars were generally cooperative and they more often supported the Mughals than opposed them. Their actions were largely based upon their own assessment of the political and military situation. Their mutual rivalries also played some role in their joining issue with the Mughals. Puranmal of Gidhaur and Sangram Singh of Kharagpur had personal enmity.¹ During the great rebellion of 1580-82, while Sangram Singh cooperated with the Mughals, Puranmal extended support to the rebels.² Sangram Singh, however, supported the Mughals almost consistently. Todarmal was so happy with him that he called him son. Unless some new information comes to light we cannot explain the reasons of Man Singh's attack over him. Man Singh's attitude towards the zamindars of Bihar and Orissa, particularly towards Sangram Singh and Ram Chand of Khurda was harsh. Man Singh's tenure as the governor of Bihar was ^asuccess. It has been mentioned that the zamindars of Bihar were generally cooperative but it was during the tenure of Man Singh that their military resources were harnessed for the expansion of the empire and they proved great asset in the conquest of Orissa.³

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 460-61.

2. Ibid., pp. 315, 321.

3. Ibid., p. 611.

In 1594, Man Singh¹ was transferred to Bengal as Governor. This was not a case of ordinary transfer from one province to another. The Mughal position in Bengal was yet to be consolidated. The adjectives used by Prasad² for Man Singh in connection with his appointment in the Punjab can justifiably be used in the present case that 'the Mughal suzerainty in the region was very shaky and the situation demanded the presence of a man of sterling qualities and great abilities.' During the Orissa campaigns Man Singh had demonstrated that he possessed a unique quality of leadership which had endeared him to his colleagues and subordinates. It has been mentioned that many of the feudal lords of Bengal separated themselves from Saad Khan, their subedar, and joined Man Singh. These officers loyally served under Man Singh for about two decades. Akbar was aware of the fact that the outstanding qualities of his general alone would not bring the turbulent province under control. The Governor of Bengal had to be backed by strong military support to meet the challenge of the Afghans and the local bandits whose ranks were recently swelled by the immigration of the Afghans from Orissa. Akbar devised a novel idea of placing a large number of military personnel under Man Singh's charge by assigning 10,000 cavalry to Salim, half of which were placed under Man Singh by allotting Jagirs to them in Bengal, and by assigning a large number of officers to Khusrav, and making Man Singh his guardian. The persons allotted to Salim and Khusrav, and placed under the charge of Man Singh, were his former trusted colleagues and relatives who had been with him in thick and thin. Among the officers assigned to Salim who got Jagirs in Bengal, the names of Jagat Singh, Durjan Singh, Saket Singh (all the three

were Man Singh's sons), Baqar Safarchi, Mirza Muhammad, Baqar Ansari, Mir Qasim Badakhshi, Yaqub Kashmiri, and Sarnadi are mentioned by Abul Fasl and among the officers of Khusrau, Raja Ram Chand of Khurda, Himmat Singh and Bhao Singh, the sons of Man Singh, and a large number of Afghans who had recently submitted to Man Singh in Orissa, like Sher Khan, Bahadur Kurah, Saleem Khan Nuhani, Sultan Sur, Allahabad Lohani, Isa Khan Maswani, Nuran Koka, Saeed Khan Mandori, Naseer Khan Miana, Manu Khan Lohani, Taj Khan Lohani, Sajawal Khan Jeelan and Ulugh Khan Lohani are included in the list supplied by Abul Fasl.¹ Orissa was assigned to Khusrau to support the above mentioned officers. All the officers mentioned above except Jagat Singh, Man Singh's eldest son, were at the disposal of Man Singh. He deployed the Afghan officers in Orissa and kept the inagirdars of Bengal and all his sons in Bengal. Jagat Singh, according to the Mughal custom of keeping the eldest son of a subedar or a commander of an expedition at the court, stayed with Akbar.² Soon after his arrival at Tanda, the capital of Bengal, Man Singh sent forces in all directions. In a couple of years he recovered large tracts of land from Isa Khan and suppressed the gamindars.³ Masoom Khan Kabuli, the architect of the opposition to the Mughal rule in Bengal died on May, 10, 1599.⁴ His death was a great relief to Man Singh. Man Singh who had the permission to come to the court if he was satisfied with the law and order situation in Bengal, came to Agra.⁵ Chronologically the Kachhwaha forces took the campaign in the order discussed below.

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 649-650.

2. Ibid., p. 724

3. Ibid., pp. 631-632. 668. 711. 714. 716. 724. 733.

4. Ibid., p. 756.

5. Ibid., p. 757.

When Man Singh reached Tanda, the Capital of Bengal, he found it highly unsuitable for offensive or defensive, military or naval operation on account of ^{the} moving away of the Ganges.¹ He selected Akmahal, on the Ganges in the sarkar of Tanda to be the new capital of the province. Offices and palaces were built and in 1595 Man Singh named the capital Akbarnagar and moved there. Soon the town flourished and the mint produced copper, silver, and gold coins.²

In December 1595, Man Singh opened the campaign against the rebel Afghans by an attack on Isa Khan who was the most important among the Afghan leaders and was in possession of large track of lands in the heart of modern Bangladesh, with Decca as his headquarters. The Afghans allowed a free passage to the Mughal general and the area east of Bihamputra came in his possession. The Raja, to strengthen the Mughal position built a strong fort in Maymensingh district of Bangladesh and named it Salingarh.³

When the main Mughal force, under Man Singh was in Bangladesh, Sulaiman and Kedar Dai, another group of rebels drove away the Mughal officers from Bugna and occupied the fort. In June 1595 Man Singh deputed his son, ^{Durgan Singh} to vindicate the Mughal honour and recover the fort. The young prince besieged the fort and engaged the Afghans in daily skirmishes. Durgan's star were good, a gun bursted inside the fort killing Sulaiman and wounding Zeidar Rai. After the death of their leader, the Afghans vacated the fort and Durgan Singh occupied it.⁴

1. See Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, No.7, July 1909.

2. A.N., Vol. III, p. 698;
Islam Khan moved the capital to Decca in 1612.

3. Ibid., p. 698.

4. Ibid., p. 721.

Taking advantage of Man Singh's illness in 1596 Isa Khan and Masoom Kabuli the chief Afghan leaders attempted an attack on Ghoraghat where Man Singh had gone to spend the rainy season. On account of the fall in the level of the river their boats could not proceed further and they returned from 40 km of Ghoraghat. Man Singh sent his son Himmat Singh in their pursuit who laid waste the possessions in Mymensingh and secured much plunder.¹

Abul Fazl has given a graphic account of the kingdom of Kooch Bihar. It had 4000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 700 elephants and 1000 war boats. Its area was large, spread between Brahmaputra in the east, slopes of Himalaya in the north, Ghoraghat in the south, and Tixhut in the west. Kooch Bihar on account of its difficult terrain managed to stay independent throughout the medieval period except occasionally acknowledging formal suzerainty of the Sultans of Gaur. Sulaiman Karani, the ruler of Bengal had attacked Kooch Bihar but had to return unsuccessful. However, a civil war between the ruler, Lakshmi Narayan and his nephew Patkunwar who claimed the gaddi for some historical reasons which have been explained by Abul Fazl brought about the submission of Kooch Bihar. Patkunwar sought Isa Khan's support and Lakshmi Narayan begged Man Singh to come to his rescue. Man Singh visited Kooch Bihar. Lakshmi Narayan made a formal submission and married his sister to the Mughal governor.² Alliance with the Mughals brought little

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 714.

2. Beveridge A.N., Vol. III, English tr. p. 1068 says that Vanshavali says that he gave his daughter to Akbar. Beveridge himself expresses doubt on Man Singh marrying a Kooch Princess on account of her status. It is very clear from Abul Fazl's account that Lakshmi Narayan was a prince of tender age. He could not have a daughter old enough for marriage. As to the status of Kooch Bihar, it may be pointed out that the present Raj Mata, wife of late Maharaja of Jaipur is a Kooch princess and command great respect all over Rajasthan. A.N., Vol. III, p. 716.

relief to Lakshmi Narayan. Patkunwar invaded and captured all the territory except the fort of Kooch Bihar where its ruler kept himself shut, awaiting the reinforcement from the Mughals. At last Man Singh sent a strong force to help Lakshmi Narayan. Patkunwar fought bravely but was defeated by the Mughals in May 1597. The submission of Kooch Behar and the defeat of Afghan supported Patkunwar to raise Kachhwaha prestige.¹ Isa Khan supported by Masoom Khan Kabuli came to the help of Patkunwar to mend his loss in the previous year and occupied large tracts of land. Man Singh instead of sending a relief force to Kooch Bihar sent a strong force to Dacca the seat of Isa Khan to create a strong diversion under the command of his gallant son Durjan Singh. The engagement was fierce, Isa Khan secured a brilliant victory and the Mughal commander lay dead on the battle field and several Mughal soldiers were taken prisoner. The death of a young son was a great personal loss to Man Singh but it did not dishearten him, on the contrary his determination to bring an end to Afghan Problem strengthened. He mobilised his forces but before he could march, the emissary of Isa Khan approached with peace proposal. Cool and calculating as Man Singh was, peace proposals were accepted because a large number of Mughal prisoners were still in the possession of Isa Khan. This brings the first phase (1594-99) of Man Singh's governorship of Bengal to an end. He already had orders to visit the emperor if he felt satisfied that the security of Bengal was safe. Death of Masoom Kabuli and peace with Isa Khan enabled the Raja to leave Bengal.²

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 724.

2. Ibid., p. 733.

Minor Maha Singh grandson of Man Singh under the guardianship of Pratap Singh deputed for his grand-father. The minority of the prince encouraged the Afghan and Bengal was again in flames. Usman Khan, son of Qutlu Khan - the former ruler of Orissa heralded the revolt this time, defeated Maha Singh, took Mir Abdur Razzak Mansuri, the mir bakshi prisoner. Almost the whole province fell to the rebels.¹

Raja Man Singh returned to Bengal in February 1601, dispersed the rebels and rescued the mir Bakshi.² Next the Raja fell upon Kedar Rai, samindar of Sripur (Bangladesh), defeated him and forced him to pay tribute. Maha Singh defeated another Afghan - Jalal Khan in Malda district and also suppressed the rebellion of Qazi Momin in Purnia district. Man Singh had little breathing time. Usman, an Afghan rebel came west of Brahmaputra and drove the Mughal thanedar from district Bhawal, without any loss of time Man Singh marched to Bhawal and drove away the enemy and recovered the Mughal territory and made Decca his headquarters. It is evident from the account of Akbarnama that Man Singh was unable to crush Afghans who with the support of Hindu samindars continued to hold the countryside. Man Singh was alive to the situation and continued to send one force after the another in all directions. Daud, the son of late Isa Khan, the masnad-sali became another centre of opposition to the Mughal rule. Isa Khan and Kedar Rai joined him, collected large park of artillery and numerous war-boats. They controlled the river Ichhamati, Man Singh sent several forces but Afghans blocked their way.

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 733.

2. Ibid., p. 784.

At last Man Singh had to come personally to supervise the campaign. Under the shower of bullets and arrows Man Singh crossed the river and defeated the Afghans, occupied their strongholds, and pushed them to Sonargaon.¹ Man Singh returned to Decca in July 1502. Kedar Rai escaped to Magh country and persuaded the ruler who was rich and resourceful to invade the imperial territories. They attacked Parnohani and adjacent districts and drove away Mughal commanders. Man Singh sent strong force under Ibrahim Beg Atka, Raghava Das, Askaran and Delpat to check their advance. They defeated the enemy. Kedar Rai was taken prisoner who soon died and the Raja of Magh returned to his country. The imperial officers returned victorious in 1503. Man Singh then attended to the suppression of other Afghan leaders like Isa and Usman who continued to be a thorn in the neck of Man Singh till he remained there. Man Singh drove them from their stronghold, and returned to Decca in 1504.²

Man Singh's governorship of Bengal was a period of great strain. In spite of his best efforts, Bengal remained as 'turbulent' as ever. He lost many of his sons during this period. It must have been a great relief for Man Singh when he was summoned to the court. He set out for Agra at the first opportunity and reached there in August 1505.³ He had undoubtedly become one of the most important nobles by this time. Man Singh received the rank of 7000 gaj and 6000 swars.⁴ an exceptionally high rank. This was indeed the apex of his career. Sky became the limit of his ambition. He aspired the role of a kingmaker but his bet on the wrong horse ruined his military career. Jehangir, however, was magnanimous towards him.

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 808, 809.

2. Ibid., pp. 821, 824.

3. Ibid., p. 838.

4. Ibid., p. 839.

Jahangir gave leave to Man Singh to resume the governorship of Bengal,¹ which he had been administering for over a decade. To appease him further Jahangir presented him with one of his best horses, a grand dress of honour and a jewelled sword, and to reassure him of the imperial patronage to his family and relatives, he granted honours and higher ranks to them. Jagannath, Madhava Singh, Maha Singh, Bhao Singh and Manohar were promoted.² Man Singh left Agra and reached Bengal. Although Jahangir had done his best to allay his fears yet he did not completely trust Man Singh. When Khusrav rebelled in 1606, it was suspected that he would go to him, to Bengal.³

However, Man Singh had lost his old vigour and enthusiasm. The whole of Bengal was in a state of rebellion but Man Singh did not take proper action and the situation in Bengal continued to deteriorate. Jahangir on his part did not slack in extending customary greetings to Man Singh. Before giving leave to Man Singh, Jahangir had given him a costly robe of honour. He sent him another in 1606 but even his formal regard and affection could not stir enthusiasm in him for the new emperor. Jahangir finding Man Singh ineffective recalled him from Bengal.⁴ This was not an ordinary case of transfer because

1. Tuzuk, vol. I, pp. 15-16; Muatmad Khan, Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri, Nawal Kishore edition, p. 512.

2. Tuzuk, pp. 16, 17, 21.

3. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 53.

4. Ibid., p. 71; Iqbalnama, p. 516.
Prof. R.P. Tripathi in his Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire (p. 368) has written that Man Singh was transferred from Bengal to Bihar. Man Singh's stay at Rohtas for a few months after the termination of governorship of Bengal has created this confusion. Jahangir Quli was the governor of Bihar at that time.

Man Singh was not assigned any other job. This had happened once in the past too when he was removed from the governorship of Kabul, and was asked to suppress the Roushanias before he was finally transferred to Bihar. This had annoyed him. He stayed in Jamrud for more than six months and in spite of the royal censure did not actively engage the enemy.¹ Similarly Jahangir's order for his removal from Bengal without assigning another responsible job to him must have distressed him. He left the province of Bengal according to the order but did not come to the court as desired by Jahangir, and continued to stay at Rohtas which was his jagir. Man Singh's delay in coming to the court amounted to disobedience but Jahangir showed remarkable patience with him. He sent several orders, one after the other, to recall him to the court.² Man Singh's defiance of the imperial orders ultimately compelled Jahangir to take the unpleasant action terminating his jagir, of Rohtas and assigning it to Kishwar Khan. Man Singh could no longer stay at Rohtas and he was obliged to come to court. His further stay at Rohtas would have amounted to rebellion. There is no other explanation for Man Singh's prolonged stay at Rohtas except his desire to stay away from Jahangir whom he did not wish to face. Jahangir continued to try to win over the affection of the 'old wolf'. He gave him a horse which was the pride of the imperial stable and renewed the matrimonial alliance with Amber in 1608 by marrying the daughter of Jagat Singh, the sister of Maha Singh.³ This marriage is significant at least in one respect i.e.

1. See Supra pp. 86-87.

2. Tuzuk, Vol. I, p. 137.

3. Ibid., p. 142. The horse was sent to Akbar by Shah Abbas of Iran. Jahangir writes that such a horse had never come to India from Iraq. In great affection Akbar had once asked his son Daniyal to ask for anything he liked. Daniyal had requested for this horse. Jahangir adds that from being presented with this horse the Raja was so delighted that if he had given him a kingdom he would not have shown such joy.

Borah, Mirza Nathan's, Baharistan-i-Ghnaibi, Vol. I, p. 3, vide Prasad, p. 123.

till 1608 Jahangir had the intention of recognising Maha Singh, son of Jagat Singh, as the successor of Man Singh.

In 1608, Jahangir appointed Man Singh to the Deccan army. Man Singh, who had independent command at least from 1586, was asked to work under Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. There existed a bond of love and mutual respect between the two. Khan Khanan's children always addressed him as Dadaji (grandfather). When Man Singh entered the imperial service at the age of eleven he was asked to look after and play with the child who later became the famous Khan Khanan.¹ Man Singh swallowed his pride and after delaying his departure for about two years, reached the Deccan in 1609. He stayed in the Deccan with his well equipped army.² Man Singh was getting restless on account of the arrest of the Mughal thrust in the Deccan, and one day he asked the Khan Khanan about the delay in the conquest of the Deccan. The Khan replied, 'You have come back after concluding the affair of Usman Afghan in Purab (Bengal), and have been appointed my subordinate. If I end the present war quickly, under what noble shall I be deputed to serve?'.³ This was the typical attitude of some of the old nobles in the time of Akbar and Jahangir, and this tendency assumed dangerous proportions during the later period. Man Singh's presence was a dead weight in the Deccan because of the lack of understanding and cooperation among the officers. Jahangir had maintained Man Singh's dignity and honour but did not give him effective power. Man Singh's role as a general is insignificant in the Deccan but the author of

1. Bhalkari, p. 31.

2. Prasad, pp. 126-129.

3. Bhim Sen, Tarikh-i-Dilkasha, Eng. tr., Bombay, 1972, pp. 207, 208.

Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin , has preserved some stories which reveal that he had plenty of time at his disposal and plenty of money to spend. Man Singh lived in great style in the Deccan with the Berar army for about four years. He died a natural death in July 1614 at Ellichpur.¹

Prasad begins his chapter on the character and personality of Man Singh by refuting the claim of Blochmann that the Raja was fifteen hundred wives and sixty of them committed satee on his death. On the basis of Kachhwaha Vansawali which is almost a modern work, and the ladies apartments in the palaces of Amber and Rohtas, Prasad asserts that the Raja had about two dozen wives. The Vansawali gives a list of twenty one wives and the palaces of Amber and Rohtas have twenty four and fifteen ladies apartments respectively. The number of these apartments cannot be regarded as an index of the number of the wives of the owner of the palace because the harem of a raja or a nobleman included his father's wives, sisters and other female relatives. The harem of the Mughal emperors had about 5000 ladies who lived at the premises but the buildings in the forts of Agra and Delhi and the complex of Fatehpur could not provide brick or stone built accommodation to all of them. The figure of Blochmann which is based upon Maasir-ul-umra may be highly exaggerated but a large harem of Hindu and Muslim nobles was not uncommon in those days. We may reject the evidence of Maasir-ul-umra without hesitation on the basis of the list of the Kachhwaha Vansawali but the evidence of Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin which was written after thirty five years of the Raja's death cannot

1. Tuzuk, pp. 148, 170, 183, 219-221, 266; Muatmad Khan, pp.551-552; Kachhwaha Vansawali, f. 51; De Laet, pp. 185-187; Foster, Early Travels in India, p. 131.

2. Prasad, pp. 130-132.

be ignored. Bhakkari writes that at the death of Raja Man Singh sixty men and women committed satee.¹ No doubt there could be a large number of attendants and concubines among those who committed satee but it also indicates the possibility of his having a large harem.

Man Singh was a typical Hindu polytheist. Prasad has discussed his religious beliefs in detail. It may be added that he showed respect to all the gods and goddesses and also the Muslim saints, but his strong inclination was towards the Rama worship. It is said that he recited the name of Rama five thousand times a day.²

Prasad's account of the personality of Man Singh is more an eulogy than an assessment. Man Singh was undoubtedly a good soldier and a brave warrior. His pleasing manners and accommodating nature made him popular with his colleagues. His victories in Kabul, Bihar, Orissa and Bengal are outstanding examples of his excellent generalship. But he was not a man of keen insight and superior judgment like his master. It was on account of the lack of these qualities that he stood betrayed and isolated during the succession struggle.

Prasad has used very valuable information about the condition of common man during Man Singh's governorship of Bengal. The famous Todarmal and his colleagues in the wazarat department evolved a system of fiscal administration which left the peasantry on the mercy of the officials who exploited them to the maximum limit. On account of its importance, Prasad's account is reproduced:

1. Bhakkari, pp. 111.

2. Ibid., p. 110.

'Unfortunately I have not come across any detailed account of contemporary writers about the condition of the people of Bengal during the governorship of Raja Man Singh that might have enabled us to judge the administrative capability of the Raja. But we find some stray references here and there from which we can draw our conclusion. One such contemporary source is Kavi Kanaken Chandi in which Poet Mukundram has given a description of Bengal during the time of the ^Kachhwaha Raja. The following is the liberal rendering of the poet's account:

'.....In the township of Salimabad there was an honest Raja named Neogy Gopinath. We lived and tilled lands in Dhamania, in his taluk for six or seven generations. All praise to Raja Man Singh, the bee to the Lotus foot of Vishnu, the king of Gaur, Banga and Utkal. During the reign of the above Man Singh on account of the sins of the people, Muhamhad Sharif got the Khilat, Rajada became his minister, the merchants and traders became alarmed, and the regime became the foe of Brahmins and Vaisnavas. They measured lands, by placing ropes on the angular sides of the fields, and they measured 15 cottahs to a bigha. They disregarded the cries of the raiyas. They came to be the cause of death of many people, and they entered unculturable lands as culturable. They exacted compensation, without conferring any corresponding benefits. The Poddars became Jam (death) for every rupee they gave you 2½ annas less, while they took for themselves as interest one pie per day per rupee.

'A khoja, who in his angry mood paid no sort of regard to the poverty of the people became Dihidar (a village official). His anger could only be appeased by presents of rupees, but there was nobody to buy your cow and paddy.....'

The poem of Poet Mukundram presents a picture of Bengal during the time of Raja Man Singh. If we closely study the above mentioned account in the light of reforms introduced by Raja Todar Mal and Asaduddaulah between 1575-83 we shall come to the conclusion that the poet was not a victim to the alleged administration of Raja Man Singh but he was a sufferer of the strict enforcement of the revenue laws of Akbar's revenue ministers. The new regulations provided for the depreciation of the current coins and held Batta as valid. It also enjoined the Mughal officers to measure the land strictly and to convert the waste land into arable land. The improved land was to be assessed at a higher rate. They forced the poor poet to leave the ancestral home where he and his ancestors had lived happily for the last six or seven generations and to go elsewhere. In this circumstance, it is quite natural that Mukundram should be extremely critical and unduly severe about the administration of Raja Man Singh who happened to be the governor of the province at that time. It is quite possible that there might be some cases of individual hardships or official tyranny on the part of the Mughal officers of Bengal. Besides, it has to be admitted that there must have been some looseness in the administration when Raja Man Singh kept himself away from Bengal leaving the province in the charge of his deputy. But the

coloured statement of Poet Mukundram cannot justify the conclusion that the administration of Raja Man Singh was unsatisfied and the people were happy. On the contrary it denotes that the official regulations of the State were strictly enforced by the officers of the Subah.

"We get some idea of the economic condition of Bengal during the viceroyalty of Raja Man Singh from the following account of Pere du Jarric:

"The country is very rich in food stuff, it produces especially a great quantity of rice for, besides the supply needed for the kingdom, every year they obtain from it many ship-loads which they carry to diverse parts of India which are less well supplied. They also collect there much ginger, sugar and above all great quantities of cotton with which they make fine cloth and other very neat stuffs which are sold all over India and even in Portugal...."¹

The Mughal state was instrument of oppression and Man Singh equally shares the responsibility for the oppressive system along with Todarmal and others. Gold and silver worth millions left by Shahbaz Khan and tons of silver spent by Man Singh and Khan Khanan on charities and patronage of poets and artists came through the exploitation of men like Mukundram. Pere du Jarric's statement that the province of Bengal was rich in agricultural produce does not necessarily mean that the peasantry was prosperous.

1. Prasad, pp. 139-141.

Man Singh kept a well-paid and efficient army. He treated the Hindus and Muslims alike. He erected several temples and also built a mosque. He arranged for the accommodation for Muslim travellers in the mosques and built hammans so that Muslims could bathe and offer prayers. In his military camp the azan could be heard five times a day and his Muslim soldiers performed the namaz in congregation. He insisted that his Muslim and Hindu soldiers should say their customary prayers and if any of them was found neglecting his prayers he was dismissed from service. He provided one full meal to the mansabdars attached to him and also to his servants every day.

Man Singh was a man of moderate temperament. He was particularly indulgent towards his colleagues and had great affection for the Khan Khanen and his family. He was very generous to his soldiers and servants but was very cruel and inhuman to his enils.¹

Man Singh shall always be remembered with Akbar for ushering a new era in Indian history.

1. Bhakkari, pp. 103-111.

CHAPTER IV

KACHHWAHAS AND THE SUCCESSION OF JAHANGIR

Succession in Mughal history was a moment of high of highest excitement and drama. Among the three sons of Akbar, two had died in in his life time. Saleem was the eldest son and was looked upon as the heir to the great Mughal empire ever since he saw the light of this world in 1569. Saleem did not conduct himself with dignity and often offended his father. In his impatience to sit on the throne of Agra he set the example of the son rebelling against father. Akbar's love for his beloved and later of his only surviving son was so great that, time and again, he was forgiven.

In October 1605, Akbar fell ill. After a few days of his illness, those close to the throne realised that the mighty monarch was very close to his death. Jahangir's accession would have been smooth but for the conspiracy of Khan-i-Azam Mirza Aziz Koka¹, the

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1. It is obvious from the account of Akbarnama that Man Singh had nothing to do with the grant of Bengal and Orissa to Saleem. He was occupied in the suppression of the Afghan rebellion when this order was issued at Agra. Prasad has reversed the roles of Man Singh and Khan Azam in the issue of succession. He considers Man Singh to be the chief conspirator while the sources which he himself has cited admit that Man Singh was a silent supporter of the Khan Azam. Moreover, Khusrau's candidature was already in the air when Man Singh reached Agra in August 1605. Akbar himself had promoted this idea by organising the elephant fight in which Saleem's elephant defeated the elephant of Khusrau. Akbar's position was very clear. He had tremendous affection for his eldest son. After the death of Daniyal in March 1605, Saleem remained the only surviving son of the old monarch. He wanted none but Saleem to succeed him and he had, quite openly on more than one occasion expressed it. He connived at the candidature of Khusrau only to keep Saleem bound to him.

foster brother of Akbar, and Man Singh, both of them being mansabdars of unusually high rank of of 7000 zat, the doyen of Mughal nobility and perhaps the richest and commanding highest prestige, to supersede Saleem by his son Khusrau¹, who was only seventeen. They, being the most powerful men in the fort, thought that they could carry the day without difficulty. Their plan was simple, to arrest the unsuspecting heir apparent when he came to offer his respects to his father and to do away with another potential candidate Khurram, younger brother of Khusrau who was attending upon the sick monarch. They had planted some people to make an end of the child prince when he came out of the imperial chamber. They further sealed the gates of the fort by assigning them to 'their' men. Hathiapol and Akbari Darwaza were to be looked after by Man Singh himself and the Khizari Gate was assigned to Shaikh Farid Bulhari.²

Saleem's distress knew no bounds when Ziaul Mulk Qizwani who had escaped from the fort with great difficulty reported the state of affairs inside the fort and warned him not to visit the dying monarch. In fact there was a rumour that Khusrau had been installed on the throne in the fort. There was no choice for Saleem but to escape to Allahabad where he had a large number of loyal friends. But he wanted his younger son to come from the fort. He sent several people to fetch him but the young prince refused to leave

1. Khusrau was the son-in-law of Khan-i-Azam and nephew of Man Singh.

2. Risalah Asad Beg, British Museum, Gr. 1996; Zhakiratul Khwanin, Vol. I, pp. 81, 83; Khafi Khan, Muntekhabul Lubab, Vol. II, pp. 233, 234.

his dying Shah Baba. Saleem had to take a risk and sent Khurram's mother, Jagat Gosain to fetch him. Even she could not make him leave the Shah Baba. This is how the future emperor Shah Jahan was saved from the men of Man Singh and Aziz Koka who were waiting for him to come out. Having no hope from any quarter, Saleem planned to collect the boats to proceed towards Allahabad.

Failure of the conspiracy to arrest Saleem did not deter Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam. Relying on their pretige and perhaps on the qualities of their candidate they convened a meeting of the nobles present in the fort. They impressed upon them that the emperor himself did not approve of Saleem, whose overindulgence in wine and women were well known. On the other hand his son, Khurrau was well mannered, congenial and friendly. But to the great surprise of the two grantees the nobles remained unimpressed by their eloquence. Saeed Khan Chaghta¹ who was a khar^azad of long standing stood up and

1. Prasad's account of the political hobnob at the critical time of Akbar's fatal illness is very interesting but it lacks the insight of a researcher. He has used Khvat of Patalrotha which is undoubtedly the only reliable Rajput source for Akbar's period. Prasad has also quoted at length from Jahangir's Memoirs translated into English by David Price, without realising that it is a fabrication. Smith writes about it's worthlessness '(it) does not deserve to be considered as an authority. The translation was made from a single defective manuscript of an edition of the Memoirs, obviously garbled and interpolated. Many of the statements are incredible, and numbers have been exaggerated throughout. The book should not be quoted for any purpose, but should be simply ignored as being misleading'. On the basis of this fabricated work, Prasad has accused Jahangir of 'exaggeration' and 'self praise'. In his typical style Prasad has paraded the evidences of the Wagzi of Asad Beg, the Khvat of Patalrotha, De Laet's Empire of the Great Mogol and the fabricated Memoirs of Jahangir without any attempt towards the sifting of the information. The author of the Khvat, whose accounts are otherwise reliable, mistook Saeed Khan Chaghta to Saiyyed Ahmad Barha. Our friend Dr. Prasad, without realising that the aforesaid Barha had died a long time ago built his story round a non-existent person.

declaring his opposition to their proposal left the meeting and with him went away other members too, leaving the two doyens bewildered. The 'old wolves' as they were called by Jahangir then resorted to high handed tactics. They aimed the guns of the fort at the house of Prince Saleem which was outside the fort on the river bank and took steps to take possession of treasury and armoury - the key to power. They did not know that greater surprise awaited them.

At that moment there were three centres of hectic political activity. (1) Residence of Saleem where preparations were in progress for escape to Allahabad, (2) Residence of Khan-i-Azam where Man Singh and Khusrau were planning their line of action, and (3) Residence of Shaikh Farid Bukhari where pro-Saleem nobles had assembled to counter the moves of Khan-i-Azam.

(foot-note of pre-page)

It was Saeed Khan Chaghta who openly and vehemently opposed the moves of the Khan-i-Azam and Man Singh. Saeed Khan Chaghta insisted that a son could not succeed to the throne in the lifetime of his father. He referred to Chaghtai laws to support his view. If Prasad had tried to look back into the history of the last two decades, he could not have missed the rivalry between Man Singh and Saeed Khan. Man Singh's first posting in a province was in 1578 and he, along with his father, was placed under Saeed Khan who was the governor of Lahore. The Kachhwahas soon became powerful and Man Singh's father shared the governorship of Lahore with Saeed Khan and after some time Bhagwant Dass got the full charge of the Punjab while Saeed Khan was transferred to Sambhal. Between 1590-93 the relations of Man Singh and Saeed Khan deteriorated during the Orissa campaigns. Saeed Khan did his best to sabotage Man Singh's efforts for the conquest of Orissa. The issue of succession was the culmination of the estranged relationship between Man Singh and Saeed Khan. The two openly canvassed for the rival candidates. Saeed Khan thwarted Man Singh's attempt to install Khusrau on the throne by rallying the rank and file of the nobility in support of Jahangir.

Before Khan-i-Azam could take possession of the treasury and armoury Raja Ram Das Kachhwaha, at the instance of Shaikh Farid Bulkhari who was his old friend and companion had already placed his men on those two vantage points. Both the leaders did their best to prevail upon Ram Das to change his loyalty but in vain, he was steadfast in his support for Saleem.¹

1. Modern historians expect Prasad have ignored the role of Ram Das in the succession struggle. Had Ram Das exerted in favour of Khusrav he could create serious difficulties for the supporters of Saleem. The emperor had great confidence in Ram Das who was allowed to stay inside the fort with his two hundred armed retainers. In fact at the time of this crisis ~~there were~~ only Ram Das and Shaikh Farid Bulkhari who had an organised force inside the fort. Prasad, as usual, has accepted De Laet's account that Ram Das Kachhwaha, who was at the head of four to five thousand Rajput cavalry, guarded the imperial treasury against the possible attempt of the Khan Azam to take it into his possession. De Laet's figure of four to five thousand cavalry is wrong because the other sources give the figure of 200. Moreover Ram Das had the rank of 2000 gat and 200 swars. It is highly unlikely that he could have such a large cavalry.

The Khayyat has narrated the dialogue between Khan-i-Azam and Man Singh with Ram Das and his assistant Kishan Singh Panwar which are worth recording in a summary.

Khan-i-Azam demanded the keys of the treasury from Kishan Singh Panwar who was guarding it on behalf of Ram Das. Panwar politely but firmly refused to oblige him without the orders of his master Ram Das. When Ram Das returned home he found Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam waiting for him. Khan-i-Azam demanded of him as to why he had posted his men on the treasury. Ram Das replied that thirty-five years back the emperor had appointed him to guard the palace. He further claimed that he still held that charge and thus safeguarding the treasury was his sacred duty. The Khan-i-Azam tried to win over Ram Das by suitable promises but Ram Das remained unmoved. On the contrary he threatened to close the gates of the palace for undesired persons. The Khan-i-Azam then demanded the keys on behalf the emperor. Ram Das told them that the emperor was seriously ill and his orders at such a time when he was not in his senses were not binding on him. Then the Khan said that Khusrav had been installed as the new emperor and that they had come to demand the keys on behalf of the new emperor. Ram Das objected and said as long as the emperor had his last breath there was no question of a new emperor. When Man Singh found Ram Das unrelenting he reminded Ram Das as to who he (Man Singh) was and what wonders he could accomplish but Ram Das also reminded him that both of them belonged to the same family and the same blood ran in their veins. Man Singh

(foot-note continued)

While Man Singh and Azis Koka were busy at their planning, supporters of Saleem had assembled at the house of Farid Bokhari. They occupied the vantage points in the fort and sent for Saleem to wait upon the dying emperor and assume sovereignty. The turn of events made Saleem to wait upon the dying emperor and assume sovereignty. The turn of events made Saleem, the one who was planning to escape to save his precious life only a few minutes back, the master of the lives of his enemies. When Man Singh and Azis Koka found the tables completely turned, they started making preparations to escape to save their heads and skins. Man Singh left the fort with Khusrav for his suburban palace. Khan-i-Azam who had immense gold and silver in his possession requested Man Singh to arrange for the transportation of his treasures as he had not been able to arrange the same and expressed his desire to go with him to Bengal. The

(foot-note from pre-page)

flew in rage and asked him to hold his tongue. Ram Das remained polite and discrete and told the Raja that he could kill him if he so desired but he could get the keys only after he was dead. Man Singh could take no sense from Ram Das any more, he lost patience and drew out his sword. Kishan Singh Panwar who was listening the dialogues came forward and challenged Man Singh in a language which could hardly be called dignified. Khan-i-Azam finding the situation growing out of hand asked Man Singh to leave the palace.

Khyat of Patalpotha

The author of Bakhtiatul Khwanin has stated that Man Singh had taken two lakh rupees from the imperial treasury but could not carry them when he left the fort for his suburban house. Other sources do not agree with Bokhari.

Raja politely refused and made preparations for departure to Bengal with Khusrav. Accompanied by a cross-section of nobility, Irani, Turani, Hindustani, Rajputs, Afghans etc. Saleem came to the fort to pay his respect to his dying father. Akbar grew week day by day during his illness but he never lost senses. The tussle between his son and grandson must have tormented his soul. Shaikhu's (Saleem's) arrival must have delighted his heart. He got his turban placed on his head and his dagger girded round his waist and thus Saleem was formally recognised as the new emperor who took the name of Nuruddin Muhammed Jahangir.¹

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1. Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam overestimated their strength and popularity, with the result that they lost the game. Similarly, Prasad had underestimated the strength of the supporters of Saleem. He writes, 'Raja Man Singh had a faithful army at his command but he was so broken-hearted on account of the failures of his plans that he did not like to seek a solution in the whirlpool of blood'. This is not an objective assessment of the situation. Man Singh and the Khan-i-Azam had burnt their boats by their intrigues and later, by openly opposing Saleem. Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam had left no stone unturned to gain their objective and they could resort to war if they could hope for even a minimal chance of a success. It became known to them that not only the rank and file of the amirs but also some umra-i-kabar like Saeed Khan Chaghta, Quli Khan and Mir Bakshi. Shaikh Farid Bukhari were on the side of Saleem. It is also clear that at no stage did Akbar agree to Khusrav's candidature and in the absence of the emperor's approval any military demonstration by the Khan-i-Azam and Man Singh would have amounted to rebellion. Man Singh was a pragmatic military leader. He would have certainly struck at the proper time if he had the strength to do so with sure chance of success. Man Singh had very slim chances of success against the powerful combination of almost all the ethnic groups of Mughal nobility who supported Saleem. On the side of Saleem several names, like Saeed Khan Chaghta, Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Quli Khan, Malik Khair, Muatmad Khan, Mirza Sharif, Ruknuddin Rohilla, the Saadat-i-Barha, Rai Sal Darbari, Ram Das Kachhwaha and Kishan Singh Panwar can be listed but on the side of Khusrav only the names of the Khan-i-Azam and Man Singh are mentioned. It is thus obvious that Man Singh was not in a position to take a military stand against Saleem and his supporters.

Jahangir was greatly perturbed to learn that Man Singh was planning to leave for Bengal with Sultan Khusrav. In far away Bengal Khusrav could become a centre of conspiracies and rebellions. Man Singh's brother who was on the side of Jahangir was sent to persuade the Raja to desist from taking the drastic and risky step which could ruin him and Khusrav too. Man Singh begged forgiveness for himself and for the prince and requested for a royal promise that no harm would befall Khusrav. Jahangir solemnly promised safety of Khusrav and the restoration of the governorship of Bangladesh and also the mansab of Man Singh. The next day Man Singh brought Khusrav to the court where he was kindly received and Man Singh was given leave to go back to his province - Bengal.¹

Most of the modern text-book writers including scholars of eminence like R.P. Tripathi² and Beni Prasad³, and of course the Pakistani historians represent the succession issue, at the death of Akbar as one between Islamic orthodoxy and Akbar's liberalism, Jahangir representing orthodoxy. This view is a result of uncritical acceptance of D.U. Jarrie's statement that a group of nobility agreed to support Jahangir's candidature if he promised to defend Islam and forego revenge on Khusrav's supporters.³ The promoters of Shaikh

1. Risalah Asad Beg, British Museum MS. Or. 1996, ff. 28a, 29a, 29b, 30a; Khafi Khan, Muntakhabul Labab, Vol. I, pp. 233-234; Nurul Haq, Subdatul Twarikh, British Museum, MS. ff. 248-249; Bhaidkari, Zakhiyatul Khwanin, Vol. I, pp. 81-83; De Lact, Empire of the Great Mogul, translated by Hoyland and Banerji, p. 171; Khayat of Palepotha vide Prasad, pp. 111-118.

2. R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall of Mughal Empire, p. 236.

3. De Jarrie, vol. III, pp. 138-139.

Ahmad Sarhindi as the champion of Islam during the Pakistan movement strengthened this belief for obvious reasons.¹ On the basis of maktubat of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi addressed to various nobles notably to Shaikh Farid Bukhari, the Mir Bakhshi, they suggest that there was a liga of powerful nobles who had some kind of connection with the Shaikh and who were keen to bring an end to Akbar's heresy. In one of the letters Akbar is depicted as the obstructor to the kingdom of Islam and Jahangir as Badsha-i-Islam.² Even the murder of Abul Fasl is given an ideological base.

Any sensible person who had followed the lifestyle of Jahangir from his early childhood till his accession would not fail that he was extremely unorthodox though inconsistent in his views. He had neither the depth nor the foresight of his father but he can safely be called a poorer version of his father. He took no step after the assumption of sovereignty which could suggest that he reversed the policies of his father. On closer scrutiny we find that the number of Rajputs in the imperial service increased during his reign. In the very first year the rise was by 22.6 per cent and by the end of his reign their strength almost doubled.³ Akbar had enrolled the Rajput mansabdars from a few well known families.

1. Shaikh Ikram, Rud-i-Kausar, - Jahangir's accession sounded the death knell of Akbar's heresy.

2. Sarhindi, Maktubat, Vol. I, No. 47.

3. Refaat Ali Khan, Kachhwahas Under Akbar and Jahangir, p. 201.

Jahangir gave mansabs to the rulers of Himachal, Jammu and other regions also which is examined in detail in the following chapter. 'Rationalisation of Rajput Mansabs under Jahangir'. The fundamental principle of Akbar's ~~public~~ public administration and state policy i.e. Sulh Kul was adopted and implemented by Jahangir. Like Akbar he even continued the initiation of chelas. R.P. Tripathi and Beni Prasad have discussed in detail some inconsistencies like the expulsion of Jains from Gujarat, the imprisonment of Guru Arjun etc. which I need not repeat.

It appeared that Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi was very fond of writing letters. Like a mutka addict he believed that some noble might take his notice and might secure for him a place among the select people and his desire to serve Islam from a position of power might come true. But alas, none of the grandees of the Mughal Court took his notice and all his letters remained unanswered and perhaps unread by the addressees. Shaikh Ahmad wrote letters to several nobles including Shaikh Farid Bukhari and Khan-i-Aram Mirza Asim Koka. Both these nobles were leaders of opposite camps - Bukhari supporting Jahangir and Khan-i-Aram supporting Khusrav. If religion was the issue it could be presumed that most of the Hindu nobles would side with Khusrav but the facts were to the contrary. Man Singh was the only person of significance on the side of Khusrav while the rest of Rajputs were either neutral or on the side of Jahangir. Prominent among the Rajput supporters of Jahangir were Raja Ram Das Kachhwaha, Raja Rai Sal Darbari and Kishan Singh Panwar.¹

1. Khayat of Patepatha.

The main issue at the time of Akbar's death was the two nobles - Khan-i-Azam and Man Singh to continue their hold over the new emperor, supported the candidature of Khusrau who was the son-in-law of the former and nephew of the latter. Such nobles who were green with envy on account of unprecedented rise of the two doyens and were opposed to their domination got together, mobilised the nobles of their view-point from amongst the Sadaat of Barha, the Ruhillas, the Rajputs, the Iranis and the Turanis, who thwarted all attempts of the Khusrau's supporters to secure the accession of Jahangir in their self interest.¹

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1. Jahangir as already stated was not a man of firm convictions like his father. His occasional diversions from his father's policies have diverse reasons on each occasion but it never was under the influence of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi or men like Shaikh Farid Bukhari. In fact Jahangir was suspicious of Bukhari. Nobles who helped him in his accession, though commanded respect, hardly ever enjoyed the confidence of the emperor. It must also be noted that Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi was a victim of Jahangir's divine arrogance and he was sent to the Gwalior prison.

Also see: 1. Arfan Habib, Political Role of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Waliullah, Proc.IHC, Vol.II, Aligarh, 1960.

2. A.J. Qaisar, Jahangir's Accession An Outcome of Orthodox Re-action. Ibid.,

3. Refa'at Ali Khan, A Note of Jahangir and Rajput 1605-1614. Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE KACHHWAHAS IN THE IMPERIAL SERVICE 1526-1627
A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

The deployment of the Kachhwahas and other Rajputs in the Mughal military campaigns and for the administration of the provinces went a long way in the making of modern India. Man Singh alone had worked in the snow covered hills of Afghanistan, along the Indus in the hilly North West Frontier province of Pakistan. From his Jagir in Sialkot he managed the affairs of Kashmir. He governed, beside Kabul, the provinces of Bihar and Bengal. He fought several battles with Isa Khan in modern Bangla Desh and with the rulers of Assam. He led military campaigns in Rajasthan, Gujarat and U.P. Towards the end of his career he was also sent to the Deccan. Similarly other Kachhwaha leaders like Askaran, Jagannath, Madhawa Singh, Bhagwant Das etc worked in the length and breadth of the great Indian Sub-Continent which is now divided into sovereign countries - Afghanistan, Pakistan India and Bangla Desh. Here follows biographical accounts of the Kachhwahas except those of Bharahmall, Bhagwant Das and Man Singh whose lives and achievements have been examined in the preceding chapters.

ABHAY RAM

Abhay Ram was the eldest son of Akhayraj, son of Bhagwan Das, son of Bharahmall. He was killed along with his brothers Bijay Ram and Shiem Ram in the courtyard of the

diwan-i-sam in the fort of Agra on 28th December 1605.

Jahangir has described the incident in his memoirs as follows:

"The unlucky ones who bore the names of Abhay Ram, Bijay Ram and Shyam Ram, were exceedingly immoderate. Notwithstanding that the aforesaid Abhay Ram had done improper (disproportioned), acts, I had winked at his faults. When at this stage it was represented to me that this wretch was desirous of dispatching his wives and children without leave to his own country, and afterwards of himself running away to the Rana (Amar Singh), who is not loyal to this (Jahangir's) family, I referred to Ram Das and other Rajput nobles, and said to them that if any one of them would become the security for them, I would confirm the rank and Jagir of these wretches and passing over their offences would forgive them. In consequence of their excessive turbulence and bad disposition no one became security. I told the Amir-ul-umara that as no one would be bound for them, they must be handed over the charge of one of the servants of the Court until security was forthcoming. The Amir-ul-umara gave them over to Ibrahim Khan Kakar and Shahnawaz Khan. When these wished to disarm these foolish people, they refused, and, not observing the dues of good manner, began, together with their servants, to quarrel and fight. The Amir-ul-umara reported the circumstances to me, and I ordered them to be punished according to their deeds."

Jahangir further gives the details of the skirmish in which all the three brothers were killed and remarks, "these people (Kachhwahas) had been treated kindly and educated by my revered father, I carried the same benevolence to them."

From the above passage of the memoirs the following can safely be concluded that (i) Abhay Ram had offended Jahangir in some way not long ago, (ii) as a punishment his rank and jagir were resumed, (iii) he along with his brother was waiting for an opportunity to escape and seek asylum with Amar Singh, and (iv) on the day when this incident occurred no Rajput noble came forward to stand their security.

The nature of Abhay Ram's offence could not be determined but there had always been a section of the Kachhwahas who resented disproportionate rise of a certain section of their family to high position. In 1580, Mohan, Sur Das and Tiloksi, nephews of Bharsmall, were killed when they defied imperial authority, Abhay Ram's offence seems to be an expression of such resentment. It is very surprising that no Rajput noble came forward to stand their security although some of the leading Kachhwahas nobles were present Agra on that day. They included Raja Jagannath brother of his grandfather. Raja Man Singh's opposition to Jahangir's accession to the throne had placed the Kachhwahas

in a very delicate situation. Since the incident took place only two months after Jahangir's accession, nobody dared stand their security.¹

AKHAYRAJ

Akhayraj was the son of Bhagwan Das, the brother of Raja Bhagwant Das. He was among the personal attendants of the emperor and seems to have never been posted in the provinces. He carried out occasional duties of a sazawal and was 'distinguished for discretion among the Kachhwahas'. In 1600, he went to the Deccan with Akbar. From Asirgarh Akbar sent him to prince Daniyal to deliver a special message. Akhayraj came back from Ahmadnagar with the ladies of Nizamulmulk whom the Prince had sent to the emperor.² He died suddenly on March 23, 1601 in the Deccan.³

Jahangir⁴ and Faizi Sarhindi help us in identifying the father of Akhayraj. Bhagwant Das and Bhagwan Das were brothers but Blochmann and Beveridge have not distinguished between the two which has caused considerable misunderstanding. Reporting about the sons of Akhayraj, Jahangir writes

1. Tuzuk, Vol. 1, pp.29-30

2. A&M. Vol. iii, p. 776.

3. Ibid, p. 786

4. Tuzuk, Vol.1, p. 29.

that they were "the sons of Akhayraj, son of Bhagwan Das, the paternal uncle of Raja Man Singh". It is thus evident that Akhayraj was a nephew of Bhagwant Das. Faizi Sarhindi calls him by the name of Banki Rai and further adds that he was a grandson of Bharahmall and a cousin of Man Singh.⁵ It is quite possible that Akhayraj was also called Banki Rai because his father was known as Banka and his descendants as Bankawat.⁶

ARJUN SINGH

He was one of the younger sons of Raja Man Singh. He is listed among the amirs of 500 zat in the Ain⁷. He served under his father in Bihar and Bengal⁸.

RAJA ASKARN

He was the younger son of Prithviraj. In 1547, he killed his brother Ratan Singh to acquire the gaddi of Amber for himself but his elder brother Bharahmall effected a coup de etat and deprived him of the gaddi after a few days. Haji Khan, the Afghan governor of Alwar and Mewat, brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers and as a compensation for the loss of Amber, Askarn was awarded the territory of Marwar which remained

5. Beveridge, Akbarnama, Vol. iii, p. 1178, n.3.
6. Kachhwaha Vansawali, f. 33; see Bhagwan Das.
7. Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. 1, Delhi 1975, p. 543.
8. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 611. In the list of Man Singh's sons who participated in the conquest of Orissa, Abul Fazl has mentioned the name of Sujen Singh which seems to be a mistake for Arjun Singh.

in his family for a long time as a zamindari independent of Amber. After the reconciliation the two brothers worked in amity. In 1562, when Suja, his nephew, secured the intervention of Mirza Sharafuddin in the affairs of Amber, Askarn upheld the cause of Bharahmall and as a result, had to hand over his son Raj Singh to the Mirza as hostage.¹ When Bhagwant Das joined the imperial service in 1562, Askarn also made his submission but he came into limelight much later. In 1577, Sadiq Khan was appointed commander of the expedition against Madhukar, the ruler of Orcha. Askarn was also appointed to that army. Sadiq Khan's army faced innumerable difficulties on the way and finally, when it reached Orcha, Madhukar gave them a tough time. The Mughal army suffered heavy losses but ultimately the Mughals, on account of their better discipline and strength, secured victory. Madhukar submitted by personally appearing before the emperor at Bhera in May, 1578. Askarn and Sadiq Khan also came to Bhera with Madhukar.² Bhagwant Das and Man Singh had also arrived there only a few weeks earlier. The Kachhwaha leaders did not stay together for long. Bhagwant Das and Man Singh stayed back in the Punjab while Askarn accompanied the emperor to Fatehpur. While Sadiq Khan, his colleague in the Madhukar expedition, went back to Chanderi and Narwar, Askarn continued to stay at the court.

1. See Bharahmall.

2. A.N., Vol. iii, pp. 229-230, 261 Prof. Ashirbadi Lal (op. cit., p. 321) has placed the event in May 1577, which is obviously wrong.

In 1579, the Bihar officers revolted and soon the revolt acquired very serious dimensions. Akbar deputed a large force against them. This force included Raja Askarn and Rai Lonkarn among the Kachhwahas, and several other leaders like Todarmal and Shaikh Farid Bukhari. Raja Askarn remained in the east with Todarmal. He seems to have returned with Todarmal to join the emperor in the Punjab in 1581¹. In 1583, some administrative reforms were undertaken and Askarn was appointed in the committee which was to look after the property of the deceased persons and was held responsible for its conveyance to the heirs.² In March 1585 Askarn was given a rank of 1000 sat.³ In the same year Aziz Koka was posted in Malwa and Askarn was directed to assist him⁴. In December 1586, two governors were appointed to each suba. Raja Askarn and Shaikh Ibrain were appointed governors of the suba of Agra.⁵ It appears that Askarn never took charge of the province and continued to serve in the suba of Malwa. He was again sent against Madhukar under Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan in 1587, and it was on the request of Askarn and Jagman, the zaminder of Dhandhira in Malwa, that Shihabuddin agreed to withdraw the campaign against him. Madhukar, suspicious as ever, again escaped from the Mughal camp. The Mughal army did not pursue him and returned for want of provisions.⁶ Askarn who must have been fairly old by then,

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1. A.N. Vol., iii pp. 287, 307, 372. Raja Askarn, son of Raja Prithiviraj, must not be confused, as Beveridge has done in the index of Akbarnama, with another person of the same name who served under the Kachhwahas in Kabul (Akbarnama Vol. 22x iii, p. 353), and in Bengal (Ibid, p. 821), and under Zain Khan Koka in Swat and Bajaur (Ibid, p. 475)
 2. A.N. Vol. iii, p. 404.
 3. Ibid, p. 457.
 4. Ibid, p. 664.
 5. Ibid, p. 511.
 6. Ibid, p. 526.

was perhaps relieved from active service and was recalled to the court. In 1592, his son Goverdhan was killed in a family feud. Akbar visited the house of Askarn for condolences¹. The year of his death is not known. Askarn and his son Raj Singh, bore the title of raja².

BALARAM

He was a nephew of Raja Bhagwant Das. Like his kinsmen he was in the service of the emperor. He, for some unknown reason, annoyed the emperor. Akbar, out of regard for the Kachhwahas, did not punish him but sent him to Man Singh, who was the governor of Bihar at that time, under the charge of an elephant driver, Misri. On February 22, 1592, while they were at Benares Balaram, in a state of intoxication, abused Misri and the latter, in retaliation, killed him and left his corpse unattended and went off.³

BALBHADRA

His identity is difficult to establish he seems to have belonged to the Shaikhawat branch of the Kachhwahas.⁴ He served in the Punjab in 1578. His son Ucha rebelled against the Mughal authority and was killed by Dastan Khan.⁵ Balbhadra Kachhwaha who served under Jahangir and Shahjahan is, however, a different person.⁶

1. AN.iii, p. 606.

2. Ibid, p. 779.

3. A.H., Vol, iii, p. 605.

4. He must not be confused with a Brahman of the same name. Ibid. p. 30.

5. See Tiloksi and Bhagwant Das.

6. Bhakkari, Vol, i. p. 59.

BHAGWAN DAS

He was the younger brother of Bhagwant Das¹. He was also known as Banka, and perhaps to distinguish him from Bhagwant Das Abdul Fazl has referred to him as Banka. His descendants were known as Bankawat Kachhwahas.² He could not rise like his uncles and brothers to higher dignities. He served with Man Singh in the army of Murad in 1581.³ He seems to have died soon after. The Ain has listed him among the officers of 400 zat⁴. His son Akhayraj was Akbar's personal attendant.

MIRZA RAJA BHAO SINGH

He was one of the younger sons of Man Singh. He was assigned along with some of his brothers, to prince Khusrav in 1594, but he served under his father who was the ataliq of the prince⁵.

1. Satya Prakash, Maharaja Bharamal and Bhagwant Das and Their Relations with the Mughal Court. I.H.C., p. 192; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Rogers and Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, Vol. 1, p. 29.
2. Kachhwaha Vansawali f. 33b.
3. A.N. Vol. iii, p. 326.
4. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 555. My young colleague Inayat Zaidi thinks that Banka was used for Akhyaraj, his son. Abdul Fazl, op. cit., p. 353, also lent support to this view by mentioning Banka and Bhagwan Das as two different persons. There must be stronger grounds to reject the evidence of Vansawali referred above. Bhagwan Das of Akbarname (Vol. iii, p. 353) may not be Bhagwan Das Kachhwaha.
5. A.N., Vol iii, p. 650; Shahnavaz, Vol. iii, p. 360.

He also served under Saleem in his early youth.¹ In 1605, he was given a mansab of 1000 zat and 200 swar². Jahangir considered him the most capable of Man Singh's sons. He raised his rank to 1500 zat³ which was again increased to 2000 zat and 1000 swar in 1608⁴. In July 1614, when Man Singh died, Jahangir, overlooking the claims of Maha Singh, granted the title of Mirza Raja and tika for the gaddi of Amber to Bhao Singh. He also increased his mansab to 4000 zat and 3000 swar and gave him leave to go Amber for a period of two months.⁵ He came back to the court after a few months and offered his annual gifts to the emperor in March 1615.⁶ After some time he was allowed to go back to Amber⁷. Bhao Singh continued to stay at his watn and in 1616 Jahangir sent a jewelled turban to him to show his affection for him.⁸ In 1617 on the occasion of the New Year celebration Bhao Singh came to the court and received an increase of 1000 in his zat mansab⁹. Thus within

1. Tuzuk, Vol. ~~iii~~ i, p. 266, Vol. ii, 218-19.
2. A.N., Vol. iii., p. 837.
3. Tuzuk, Vol. i, pp. 24-140.
4. Ibid., p. 266.
5. Ibid., p. 282.
6. Ibid., p. 297.
7. ~~History of~~ Tuzuk, Vol. i, p. 329.
8. Ibid., p. 372.
9. Ibid., p. 394.

three years of his father's death he became a mansabdar of 5000 zat. In October 1617, while Jahangir was at Mandu, Bhao Singh gave him a peshkash of some jewels and jewelled objects and rupees one thousand as nazr.¹ Bhao Singh regularly offered gifts to the emperor, Jahangir mentions his offerings on the occasion of the New Year in March 1619² also. Bhao Singh was allowed to stay at the court or at his watn, but in 1619 Jahangir gave him a horse and dress of honour, and ordered him to go to the Deccan to support it's army.³ Bhao Singh made preparations for the Deccan army and went to the Deccan where he died in December 1621. Jahangir was very fond of him. He writes about his death in his memoirs:

"From excess of wine-drinking he had become very weak and low. Suddenly a faintness came over him. However much the physicians tried remedies for him and burnt scars on the top of his head, he did not come to his senses: for a night and a day he lay without perception and died the next day. Two wives and eight concubines burnt themselves in the fire of fidelity for him. Jagat Singh, his elder brother, and Maha Singh, his nephew, had spent the coin of their lives in the vine-business, and the aforesaid, not taking warning from them, sold sweet life for bitter fluid. He was of a very good disposition and sedate. From the days I was a prince he was constantly in my service and by the blessing of my education had reached the high rank of 5000."

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1. Tuzuk, Vol. II, p. 81.
 2. Ibid, p. 108.
 3. Ibid, pp. 218-19.

BHUPAT

Bhupat was the son of Bharehmall. He joined the imperial service with his father. He accompanied Akbar in the first Gujarat expedition. In December 1572, when Akbar was camping at Baroda he was sent towards Surat against the Mirzas as an advance force. He was soon recalled because it was learnt that the Mirzas had left Surat and were in the vicinity of Sarnal. Bhupat returned and joined Akbar at Sarnal on December 23, 1572. When Akbar attacked the Mirzas the same evening, Bhupat was the first to rush upon the enemy. He fought bravely and lost his life at the opening of the battle.¹

Bhupat's death was a great calamity for the Kachhwahas and the emperor also shared the grief of the loss of his brother-in-law. Ignoring the custom of the harem Akbar allowed his wife, who was Bhupat's sister, to join the family at this moment of grief at Amber.²

Akbar must have felt satisfied for avenging the death of Bhupat by spearing to death his assassinator Shah Madad Azmi before the first anniversary of his death.³

BIJAY RAM See ABHAY RAM

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1. A.N., Vol. iii, pp. 14-15; Badaoni, Vol. ii, p. 142; Nizemuddin, Vol. ii, p. 379.
 2. A.N., Vol. iii., p. 34.
 3. Ibid, p. 59.

CHANDRABHAN

He served under his brother Man Singh. In the beginning of 1590, Purnamal, the Raja of Gidhaur, a powerful zamindar of Bihar, made a formal submission to the Mughals by giving his daughter in marriage to Chandrabhan.¹ Like many other Kachhwahas he could not rise in status and was not given even a mansab of 200.² A long list of the Kachhwaha princes who lived during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir can be made from the Rajput sources but all of them did not make a mark and they have passed unnoticed by the court historians.

CHATRASAL

He was the son of Madhava Singh. He served under Man Singh in Bengal. He became a noble of high rank under Jahangir.³

DURJAN SINGH

He was the son of Man Singh. He lived with his father and played a significant role in the conquest of Orissa in 1592.⁴

He also served under his father in Bengal. In 1595-96 he distinguished himself by his conquest of Kakruba and Busna.⁵ ~~xxxx~~
In 1597 the young warrior died in action in Bengal.⁶

DURJAN KACHHWAHA

He was a confidential servant of Akbar. He died in 1594.⁷

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1. Abdul Fazi, op. cit., Vol. iii, p. 576.
 2. The Ain has names of all the officers above the rank of 200 but it does not give his name in the list of mansabders.
 3. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 611, N.U. Vol. iii, p. 322.
 4. A.N., Vol. iii, pp. 611, 612.
 5. Ibid, pp. 698, 611.
 6. Ibid, p. 733.
 7. Ibid, p. 652.

DATMAN. See Ram Das Kachhwaha.

RAJA GIRDHAR DAS

Among the large number of the sons and grandsons of Rai Sal Darbari, Girdhar attained fame. Rai Sal Darbari had divided his zamindari among his seven sons. According to the family accounts (i) Girdhar became the chief and got the prized watn of Khandela and Rewasa, his descendants were known as Girdharjai Ki; (ii) Lad Khan whose descendants were called Lad Khani got the zamindari of Kahacharyawas; (iii) Behuraj whose descendants were called Bahujani got Udaipur; (iv) Tarmal Rao whose descendants were also called Bahujani got Kausli; (v) Parshuram whose descendants were called Parshuram Pota got Bai; (vi) Har Ram whose descendants were known as Har Ram Pota got Mondri, and (vii) Taj Khan's descendants were known as Tajkhanis. Many of the descendants of Rai Sal gave up imperial service and became ordinary cultivators.¹

Girdhar served in the Deccan during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. In 1615 he had a rank of 800 zat and 800 swar. Girdhar's progress was painfully slow; after three more years of service he got an increase of 200 in the zat mansab and after another three years, earned a raise of 200 in zat and 100 in swar ranks. Thus in 1621 he had a rank of 1200 zat and 900 swar.²

1. Jwala Sehai, Wiquaya Rajpootana, Vol. i, Agra, 1878, p.665.

2. Tuzuk, Vol. i, p. 298, Vol. ii, pp. 44-45, 209;
A.N., Vol. iii, p. 807.

In 1623 Girdhar came from the Deccan and waited upon the emperor. Jahangir was pleased with his services in the Deccan; he increased his mansab to 2000 zat and 1500 swar¹ and honoured him with a dress of honour and title of raja and sent him back to the Deccan. But alas, these honours came too late. He was killed by the rioters in the same year. In the Deccan Girdhar was attached to the forces of prince Parwez and Mahabat Khan, who were sent against Shahjahan. They were at Burhanpur at the time of the ghastly murder of the Raja.

The circumstances of Girdhar's death are very revealing. A big riot could take place in a military township on a small issue. Jahangir has narrated the incident in detail. The Rajput sources also support the story. On account of its importance for the study of social and military history the story is reproduced in the words of Jahangir:

" At this time a report came from Aqidat Khan, Bakhshi of the Deccan, containing the news of Raja Girdhar's having been killed. The particulars of this event are that one of the brothers of Sayyid Kabir Barha, who was an attendant of my fortunate son Shah Parwiz, gave his sword to brighten and put on the wheel (to sharpen) to a cutler who had a shop close to the house of Raja Girdhar. The next day when he came to fetch his sword, a conversation

1. Tuzuk, Vol. II, p. 252.

took place as to the charge of the work, and the people of the Sayyid struck the cutler some blows with a stick. The Raja's people in supporting him used their whips on them. By chance two or three young Sayyids of Barha had lodging in that neighbourhood and hearing of this disturbance, went to the assistance of the aforesaid Sayyid. The fire of strife was lighted, and a fight took place between the Sayyids and Rajputs, ending in an encounter which arrows and swords. Sayyid Kabir, becoming aware of this, came to assist with thirty or forty horsemen, and at this time Raja Girdhar, with a body of Rajputs and his caste people, according to the custom of Hindus, were sitting barebodied and eating their food. Becoming aware of the coming of Sayyid Kabir and the violence of the Sayyids, he brought his men inside the house and firmly closed the door. The Sayyids, setting fire to door, forced their way inside and the fight went to such a length that Raja Girdhar and twenty six of his servants were killed and forty others were wounded. Four of the Sayyids were also killed. After Raja Girdhar was killed, Sayyid Kabir took the horses out of his stable to his own house and returned. The Rajput officers, when informed of the slaying of Raja Girdhar, came on horse back in great numbers from their houses, and all the Barha Sayyids came to the aid of Sayyid Kabir. They assembled in the plain outside the citadel, and the fire

of trouble and calamity increased, and it nearly came to a great disturbance. Mahabat Khan, being informed of it, immediately mounted and went there and bringing the Sayyids into the citadel, and soothing the Rajputs in a manner suitable to the occasion, took some of their chiefmen with him and went to the house of Khan Alam which was near there. He soothed them down in a proper way, and promised and became a security for an inquiry into the matter. When the news reached the p_rince he also went to the quarter of Khan Alam, and soothed them with words appropriate to the state of affairs and sent the Rajputs to their own houses. Next day Mahabar Khan went to the house of Raja Girdhar, condoled and sympathized with his sons and having contrived to get hold of Sayyid Kabir put him into confinement. As the Rajputs would not be consoled without his being put to death, after a few days he executed him." ¹

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1. Tuzuk, Vol. ii pp. 232-234; Jawala Sahai, Vol. i, pp. 665-666. According to the Rajput version he was killed while taking a bath in the river, Jamuna. One of his companions went to a cutler to get his sword sharpened. A Musalman cracked a joke on him and then placed a burning coal in his turban. The Rajput bore the insult with patience but when his sword was ready he chopped off the offender's neck with the same sword. The victim belonged to a noble of the empire. The noble attached Girdhar, the Raja of Khandela who was taking a bath and killed him along with his companions.

Rajput version is substantially correct except the place of murder and the origin of quarrel.

GOVERDHAN

Goverdhan was the son of Raja Askarn. He stayed with his father. Goverdhan's death reminds the ayan al Arab where the family feuds and tribal wars lasted for generations. Goverdhan's father was responsible for the death of Ratan Singh in 1547. After fortyfive years of this incident Goverdhan was killed by Karan, a descendant of Ratan Singh to satisfy his grudge against Askarn, in early March, 1592.¹

Perhaps Goverdhan did not enjoy an independent mansab.

HIMMAT SINGH

He was the son of Man Singh. He served with his father in Afghanistan. In 1586, he assisted his father in escorting Mirza Sulaiman, the ex-ruler of Badakhshan through the Khaibar pass.²

He continued to serve under his father in Bihar and Bengal. In 1594, when Man Singh took over the charge of the suba of Bengal he sent forces in several directions to restore peace in the province. A strong force, under the command of Himmat Singh, was sent to Busna. Himmat Singh occupied Busna but,

1. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 606.

2. Ibid, p. 513.

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without making proper arrangement for its security, came back to his father at Tanda, and as a result of his negligence Busna was again occupied by the Afghans.¹ In 1596, he led an attack on Masoom Khan Kabuli and defeated him near Sundarbans.² He died young in 1597, of diarrhoea. Abul Fazl says that he was distinguished for courage and management.³ It is surprising that his name does not find place among the mansabdars in the lists of the Ain and the Tabaqat. Blochmann considers that Ain's Sakat Singh, No. 342, should be read as Himmat Singh because Sakat Singh has also been mentioned at No. 256⁴ Blochmann probably missed the information in Akbarnama that Man Singh Darbari had a son whose name was also Sakat Singh.⁵ Ain's No. 342 should be read as Sakat Singh.

ISHAR DAS

He was the son of Rai Lonkarn. He served with his father under Akbar.⁶

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1. A.N., Vol. 111, pp. 667, 711.
 2. Ibid, p. 714.
 3. Ibid. pp. 714, 721.
 4. Blochmann, p. 543.
 5. A.N., Vol. 111, p. 353.
 6. Bhakkari, Vol. 1, p. 219.

RAJA JAGANNATH

Jagannath was the son of Bharahmall. He too was handed over as hostage to Mirza Sharafuddin Husain in 1562.¹ His active service with the Mughals began with the Gujarat campaigns and Man Singh's visit to Udaipur (1572-73)². In June 1576, he participated in the battle of Haldighati under the command of his nephew, Man Singh. In the initial stage of the battle the Mughal army almost sustained defeat; the Rajputs headed by Lonkarn, 'the lord of Sambhar', 'fled like a flock of sheep' but Man Singh and the Saiyyeds of Barha stood like a rock against the heavy onslaught of the Rana. Jagannath too stood firm, and distinguished himself by killing Ram Das, son of Jaimal, the famous defender of Chitter. The contemporary writers agree that Jagannath fought without regard to his life and on one occasion, was almost killed.³ In 1576-77, Akbar himself came to Mewar and launched a campaign against the Rana. Jagannath was also with the emperor on this occasion and he was posted at Udaipur. He seems to have left Mewar with the emperor.⁴ In 1578, Akbar allotted jagirs to some of the Kachhwahas in the Punjab. Jagannath and his brother, Bhagwant Das and other Rajputs were presented with robes of honour and were given leave to go to the Punjab.⁵

1. A.N., Vol. ii. pp. 156-57.

2. Ibid, Vol. iii., pp. 34, 49.

3. A.N., Vol. iii pp. 167, 174, 175.

4. Nizamuddin, Vol. ii, p. 496.

5. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 362.

Jagannath served with Bhagwant Das for a long time. During the crisis of 1580-82, he served in the Punjab and also accompanied prince Murad in the Kabul campaign. When Akbar returned to Fatehpur in 1581, Jagannath stayed back in the Punjab.¹

Rana Pratap took full advantage of Akbar's preoccupation with the eastern rebellion and the invasion of Mirza Hakim, and he reoccupied his lost districts. After the suppression of the eastern rebellion Akbar, once again, turned his attention towards Mewar in 1584, and deputed Jagannath to restore Mughal Prestige in that area. It was for the first time that Akbar gave independent command to Jagannath. He began the Mewar campaign with great enthusiasm but the Rana avoided an open conflict with him. While Jagannath was in the western defiles of Mewar, the Rana attacked the Mughal occupied territory of Mandalgarh. In September 1585, Jagannath attacked the Rana's hideout but the Rana got timely information and slipped away. Jagannath plundered the Rana's house. (If there was any thing to plunder there). The hide and seek without any active engagement continued for some more months and ultimately Jagannath returned to Ajmer. Akbar's deep involvement in the western part of his empire again gave a respite to the Rana. Jagannath was recalled to serve in the Punjab again.²

1. A.N.W. p. 372.

2. A.N., Vol iii, pp. 440, 468. It is significant to note that all the colleagues of Jagannath in the Mewar campaign were Muslims.

In December 1586, Akbar appointed two governors for each suba. Jagannath and Rai Durga were appointed governors of Ajmer.¹ Jagannath's governorship of the suba of Ajmer was nominal because only a few months after his appointment he was recalled to the Punjab. In August 1587, Qasim Khan, the conqueror of Kashmir, requested the emperor for a transfer, Akbar sent Mirza Yusuf Khan to take charge of Kashmir which was still far from quiet. Jagannath was also sent with Mirza Yusuf Khan but the latter left the former at the foot of the hills to guard the passes. Yusuf Khan, by his lenient attitude, restored peace in Kashmir and gave leave to Qasim Khan to join the emperor and since he did not require military reinforcement, he secretly bade farewell to Jagannath.² On December 31, 1587, Akbar appointed Zain Khan Koka against the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur. Jagannath who had returned from Kashmir also joined the forces of the Koka.³ The Koka and Jagannath entered Bajaur through a secret pass but they could not catch Jalal, the religious and political leader of the Afghans. The Koka entered the dwellings of the Afghans in the hills while Jagannath kept a watch over the plains. Having subjugated Bajaur, the Koka proceeded to attack Swat in October 1588. Jagannath again accompanied the Koka for the Swat campaign.⁴ By his energetic campaigns the Koka established peace in Swat and sent back some of the officers to the court, then at Lahore. Jagannath also seems to have come to Lahore. In April 1589, Akbar visited Kashmir, Jagannath

1. A.N. Vol. III, p. 511.

2. Ibid, p. 523.

3. Ibid, p. 526.

4. Ibid, p. 532.

accompanied the emperor in his Kashmir visit.¹ Jagannath kept close to the emperor² and was allotted the house of Qara Beg.³

In September 1591, Murad was assigned Malwa as his jagir and Jagannath was one of the several important officers who accompanied him. The assignment of Malwa to Murad was a prelude to the conquest of the Deccan. The jagir of Jagannath seems to have been transferred from the Punjab to Malwa. When Murad reached Malwa the zamindars of the suba, except Madhukar, came and paid homage to him. After great persuasion Madhukar sent his grandson to the Mughal camp. He met the prince near Narwar. Murad insisted that Madhukar should appear before him personally. Madhukar finally yielded and came to pay his respects. When he arrived near the camp he requested that Ismail Quli and Jagannath should take him under their charge. The prince granted his request and sent officers to bring him. Ismail Quli went to fetch Madhukar but Jagannath abstained. Madhukar, out of fear, fled into his safe defiles. Murad got angry at the attitude of Jagannath and ordered that he and Ismail Quli ~~exha~~ should go in pursuit and bring Madhukar back, and in case he refused to come they were asked to punish him. Since these

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1. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 538.
 2. Ibid, p. 542.
 3. Ibid, p. 549.

officers did not trust Mured's intention they refused to obey his orders. Mured was determined to punish Madhukar and he personally led the campaign against him. Madhukar was obliged to make peace with the prince and sent his sons, Ram Chand and Ranjit, to him. Mured placed them in the charge of Jagannath. While Madhukar's sons were in the camp, Mured broke an agreement with a zamindar. It frightened Ram Chand and he, possibly with the connivance of Jagannath escaped from the camp.¹ Mured attacked Orcha but was obliged to withdraw on account of Akbar's intervention. Jagannath's behaviour in this connection must be viewed in the background of Akbar's treatment of Yusuf Shah, the ruler of Kashmir. Mured, it appears, was surrounded by some unscrupulous persons which had created distrust among some of the old officers. Jagannath would not repeat the tragic mistake of his brother, Bhagwant Das, who had guaranteed the safety of life and honour to Yusuf Shah, and Akbar without regard to Bhagwant Das' pledge, had imprisoned Yusuf Shah. Moreover, Jagannath did not agree with the policy of aggression in Malwa and he defied the orders of the prince on the strength of his conviction of the correctness of his action, and his connections at the royal court. He seems to have stayed in the suba of Malwa till he was sent with Mured for the conquest of Ahmadnagar.

1. Ibid, pp. 604-605.

Jagannath continued to serve under prince Murad in the Deccan. In 1592, he was active in the conquest of Berar and worked with the great leaders of war like the Khan Khanan, Raja Ali, the ruler of Khandesh, Mirza Shahrukh and Shahbaz Khan against Ahmadnagar.¹ The Deccan affair did not progress on account of dissensions among the Mughal officers. In February, 1597, the Deccan states pooled their resources to arrest the Mughal thrust. Murad also organised a large army under Shahrukh Mirza and the Khan Khanan. A great battle took place at Ashti. The battle lasted two days and ultimately the Mughals were victorious. In the initial stage of the battle the Deccani attack was so powerful that many of the Mughal soldiers 'lost the foot of courage'. Abdul Fazl credits the Rajputs with singular valour. He says "Jagannath with some men, and Rai Durga and Raj Singh and other Rajput leaders, drew their rein and kept their ground". The Kachhwahas played a significant role in the Deccan.² It was a long time since Jagannath came to the Deccan. He had not visited his home for a ~~long time~~ long time. He took leave from the prince and visited his home. In July 1598, he came to wait upon the emperor who was still in the Punjab. Since he had come to the court without permission he was debarred from appearing in the darbar but on account of his simplicity he was pardoned and the interview was granted.³

1. A.H., Vol. iii, p. 703.

2. Ibid, p. 719.

3. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 743.

While Jagannath was in the north, his son, Jagrup, continued to serve in the Deccan army.¹ Jagannath came back to Deccan to resume his duty after some time. In 1601, Jagannath who held the rank of 4000 zat² was raised to the highest mansab of 5000 zat³. Thus in 1601, two Kachhwaha leaders i.e. Man Singh and Jagannath had the lofty rank of 5000, a great distinction indeed.

The fort of Ranthambhore was under the charge of Jagannath. When Akbar returned to the north after the conquest of Asirgarh and intended to visit the fort on his return journey Jagannath was specially called from Burhanpur to host the emperor at the fort. In June 1601, he came and joined the camp of the emperor and took him to the fort and gave him a large peashkash. When Akbar left Ranthambhore, Raja Jagannath went back to Deccan.⁴

Jagannath served under his brother, Bhagwant Das, till 1584. After 1584, he was given independent assignments. He is one of the few Kachhwahas who were assigned duties other than military jobs. In 1583, the care of the armoury and the looking after of the roads were made over to him, and to

1. A.N. Vol. III, p. 759.

2. Nizamuddin, Vol. II, p. 668.

3. A.N., p. 786. It is very strange that the author of Zakhiratul-Khwanin places him among the mansabdars of 3000. He held a swarmansab of 3000 during the reign of Jahangir.

4. A.N., Vol. III, p. 793.

Quli Khan and Lonkarn.¹ He had acquired the complete trust of the emperor. In 1603, Kaiqubad, the son of Mirza Hakim, was handed over to Jagannath to be kept into the dungeon of Ranthambhore.² Akbarnama accuses Kaiqubad of excessive drinking and committing evil deeds but it is obvious that he was imprisoned for political considerations and a trustworthy man like Jagannath was needed to keep a watch over him.

Jahangir confirmed Jagannath's rank of 5000 zat³ and appointed him to the Mewar expedition which was being commanded by Asaf Khan. On account of Khusrau's revolt a truce was made with Rana Amar Singh. The main army returned to Agra but Jagannath was left there to keep a watch over Mewar. He could not stay there for long. He was sent against Rai Singh⁴ but the Rai submitted and was pardoned.⁵ In 1609, Jahangir sent Jagannath and his son, under the command of Parvez to the Deccan. His highest rank was 5000 zat and 3000 swar.⁶ Jagannath died in the Deccan in 1609.⁷

1. A.N.V. p. 404.

2. Ibid. p. 825.

3. Tuzuk, Vol. 1, p. 16.

4. Ibid. p. 74.

5. Ibid. pp. 76, 148.

6. Ibid. p. 156.

7. Shiamal Dasji, Vir Vinod, p. 253.

JAGAT SINGH

He was the eldest son of Man Singh. In 1585, Mirza Hakim, the half brother of Akbar and the ruler of Afghanistan, died. Man Singh occupied Kabul on behalf of Akbar and took the sons of the Mirza under his charge. He returned to India with the sons of Mirza and left Jagat Singh and Khwaja Shamsuddin at Kabul to look after the newly acquired kingdom. They fared well in Kabul and maintained peace there till the arrival of Man Singh.¹ Jagat Singh remained with his father thereafter till 1594.

Jagat Singh's reputation as a military leader was built on his successful repulsion of an Afghan attack on Patna in 1590. Sultan Quli Qalmaq, an Afghan leader, occupied the northern districts of Bihar while Man Singh, the governor of the suba, was in the south. He also threatened Patna. Jagat Singh led a powerful force against him which made him retreat and vacate Bihar.²

In 1590, Man Singh attacked Orissa which was ruled by Qutlu Khan Lohani. The ruler of Orissa also made preparations to meet the challenge of the Mughal governor. He kept his army at Dharpur and sent a body of troops under Bahadur Kuruh towards

1. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 473.

2. Ibid, p. 576.

the Mughal Camp. Man Singh sent Jagat Singh at the head of a sufficiently equipped army to meet Bahadur. Bahadur was a crafty and experienced man. He took refuge in a fort and had 'recourse to cajolery' and 'lulled the inexperienced youth', Jagat Singh to carelessness, and in the meantime secured reinforcements from Qutlu under the command of his experienced generals like Jalal and Umar. Hamir, the zamindar of Vishnupuri warned Jagat Singh of the strength and the progress of the enemy's army but he did not pay any heed. Jalal took the army through the jungle and surprised the Mughal army. The Mughals were badly beaten and fled to save their lives. Jagat Singh took shelter with the aforesaid zamindar.¹ Jagat Singh's defeat was a great setback to the Mughal prestige in that region but the death of Qutlu at the height of his success reversed the situation, and the Afghans made peace with Raja Man Singh to gain time. In 1592, Man Singh again attacked Orissa and annexed it to Mughal empire. Jagat Singh played an important role in the final conquest of Orissa.²

Man Singh and Jagat Singh visited the emperor at Lahore in 1594. Man Singh was appointed governor of Bengal but Jagat Singh was detained at the court. Rustam Mirza and Asaf Khan

1. A.N., Vol. iii, pp. 576-577, 580.

2. Ibid, p. 612.

had been sent against Raja Basu of Mau and other zamindars of the hills of the Punjab but Akbar was not satisfied with their work. He, therefore, sent Jagat Singh to the northern hills in April, 1597. Akbar was quite happy at the performance of Jagat Singh because he 'rewarded him for his good services' in June 1598 when he returned from there with Malook Chand, Raja of Nagarkot.¹

In 1599, Man Singh came to Agra from Bengal. Akbar sent him to Ajmer with prince Saleem, and at his request appointed Jagat Singh his deputy in Bengal, but before Jagat Singh could leave Agra he died on September 26, 1599, and his son Maha Singh was sent to Bengal.²

JAGMAL

Jagmal was the younger brother of Bharahmall. He joined the Mughal service with the latter in 1562. When Sharafuddin Husain Mirza revolted and was expelled from Rajasthan the fort of Merta was given to the charge of Jagmal in 1564.³ In 1573, he was made incharge of the camp during the rapid march of Akbar to Gujarat.⁴ Jagmal did not play a significant role in

1. A.N.H., pp. 724, 742.
2. A.N., Vol. ii, p. 763.
3. Ibid, Vol. ii, p. 196.
4. M.U., Vol. i, p. 727.

the civil military affairs of the empire but attained a high rank of 1000 zat¹ for being a senior member of the Kachhwaha family. He must not be confused with Jagmal Panwar² and Jagmal Silahdar.³

JAGRUP

He was the son of Jagannath. He served in the Deccan. He was killed in action in Birgarh (Berar) in 1599.⁴

JAIMAL

Jaimal was the son of Rupsi Bairagi⁵. He distinguished himself in 1562 in the conquest of the fort of Merta⁶. He was initially in the service of Mirza Sharafuddin Husain and held the fort of Merta on his behalf. When the Mirza revolted against Akbar, Jaimal handed over the charge of the fort to his uncle, Jagmal, and reported himself to the court.⁷ In 1572-73, he was associated with the Gujarat expeditions. He served under the Khan Kalan in Gujarat and also accompanied the emperor in his rapid march.⁸ In 1576, Jaimal was appointed with Safdar Khan

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1. Blochmann, p. 483.
 2. A.N., Vol. iii, pp. 49, 262.
 3. Ibid, p. 355.
 4. Ibid, Vol. iii, p. 759.
 5. Ibid, Vol. ii, p. 156.
 6. Ibid, p. 162.
 7. Ibid, p. 196.
 8. A.N., Vol. iii, pp. 49-50; M.V., Vol. ii, p. 111.

and other to suppress the rebellion of Dauda (Devra) the son of Rai Surjan Hada, who had gone to Bundi without permission.¹

Abul Fazl complains that the imperial army 'did not act honestly' and therefore another army was sent under the command of Zain Khan Koka against Dauda on 30th March, 1577, and Jaimal and Safdar Khan were ordered to help the Koka. By the exertions of the two armies the rebellion was successfully suppressed.²

In May-June 1583, Jaimal was ordered to go to the officers of Bengal and Bihar by relays of horses, Jaimal without regard to the scorching sun and hot and violent winds, rapidly marched towards Bihar. He died, probably of sun-stroke, at Chausa. When the news of his death reached Fatehpur Sikri his family began the preparations for the ceremony of satee. One of the wives of Jaimal, who was the daughter of Udai Singh of Marwar, was also being forced against her will, by a son of Jaimal, named Udai Singh, to commit satee. This news must have created a sensation in the imperial harem because a sister of the aforesaid Rani was married to prince Saleem. It was early morning when Akbar learnt about it. He immediately galloped to the spot. Akbar's timely intervention saved the life of Udai Singh's daughter. Jagannath and Rai Sal Darbari who had also arrived there, got hold of the culprits. Udai Singh and his accomplices in this inhuman act were thrown into a dungeon.³

1. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 184.

2. Ibid, pp. 201-203.

3. Ibid, p. 402 Satee by free will was allowed by Akbar.

JAI SINGH

He was the eldest son of Maha Singh. He became a mansabdar when he was a child. In December 1616, when Jahangir was passing from Ranthambhore he and his brothers came and waited upon the emperor and got suitable mansabs.¹ In September 1617, at the time of Maha Singh's death in the Deccan Jahangir called Jai Singh, who was only twelve years old, to the court and gave him rank of 1000 zat and 1000 swar.² Award of a high rank to a child of twelve shows that Jahangir had a lot of affection for this family. Like his grandfather, Jagat Singh, he was the nephew of one of the wives of Jahangir.³ Jai Singh was recognised by Jahangir after the death of his father's uncle, Mirza Raja Bhao Singh, as the ruler of Amber in December 1621. He was given a rank of 3000 zat and 1400 swar.⁴

At the time of the rebellion of Shahjahan the Kachhwaha ruler joined the imperial army. Jai Singh fought with Jahangir's forces against Shahjahan. At the time of the retreat Shahjahan plundered Amber. The Sisodia soldiers of Shahjahan must have taken the revenge of Jagannath's plunder of Rana Pratap's residence in 1584. It is significant to note that the Sisodias

1. Tuzuk, Vol. i, p. 345.

2. Tuzuk, Vol. i, p. 389.

3. Jahangir had married the daughter and great grand daughter of Bhagwant Das.

4. Ibid, Vol. ii, p. 257; see also p. 218.

joined the camp of Jahangir after the battle was won and the Kachhwahas joined the emperor before the battle. Jahangir justly increased the mansab of Jai Singh to 3000 zat and 1400 swar in 1624.¹ Jai Singh was ultimately promoted to the rank of 4000 zat because he loyally supported the emperor throughout his reign. Jai Singh is one of the three best known Kachhwahas. He was destined to play a very important role in the Mughal politics and military campaigns under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

KABIR KACHHWAHA

The parentage of Kabir is not known. Unlike other Kachhwahas he served under Amar Singh of Mewar and was killed in an encounter with the Mughal forces led by Abdullah Khan Firoz Jung.² There were several Kachhwahas who revolted against Akbar and Jahangir but Kabir is the solitary example of a Kachhwaha who fought against the Mughals in support of the Sisodias.

KAILA KACHHWAHA

He belonged to the Kachhwaha forces posted in the Punjab in 1578. He accompanied prince Murad in the Kabul expedition of 1581.³ He had a rank of 200 zat.⁴ His parentage is not known.

1. Tuzuk-i-Jahangir, pp. 253, 257, 258.

2. Vide Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, Allahabad, 1962, p. 213, n 25.

3. A.N., Vol. III, p. 353.

4. Blochmann, p. 590.

KAN KACHHWAHA

His parentage is not known. He was in the service of Raja Bhagwant Das. In 1575, he was killed in an encounter with the Afghans in Bihar.¹

KARAM CHAND. See Ram Chand.

KHANGAR

He was the son of Jagmal, the brother of Bharahmall. He was surrendered as hostage to Mirza Sharafuddin in 1562, but was released by Akbar's orders. He joined the Mughal service with his uncles and cousins in 1562.² In 1572-73, Bharahmall was looking after the affairs of the empire in the absence of the emperor from the capital. He sent Khengar with a large force towards Delhi against Ibrahim Husain Mirza.³ Khengar was also sent with the advance force for the second Gujarat expedition. He joined the emperor at Pattan on August 31, 1573.⁴ Khengar was also sent against Rana Pratap under the command of Man Singh in 1576.⁵ In the early eighties he was sent to join the eastern command under Sadiq Khan and Shahbaz Khan. When the two leaders fell out and Sadiq Khan came back to the court, then at Allahabad,

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1. A.N., Vol. ii, p. 134.
 2. Ibid, Vol. ii, p. 156.
 3. Ibid, Vol. iii, p. 35.
 4. Ibid, p. 42.
 5. Ibid, p. 166.

Khengar stayed back with Shahbaz Khan. He first served on the borders of Orissa to keep Qutlu Lohani in check, and when the situation at the border eased he went to Bengal and distinguished himself in several battles.¹ It is very surprising that his name is not included in the list of mansabdars of 200 zat and above given by Abul Fazl in the Ain-i-Albani. Khengar's mansab must certainly be higher than 200 in 1595 because Nizamuddin has placed him among the mansabdars of 2000.² His son Raghava Das served in the Deccan.³

RAI LONKARN

Lonkarn belonged to the Shaikhawat branch of the Kachhwahas. According to the tradition they are the descendants of Mokajji, the third son of Udai Karn, the ruler of Amber. A son was born to Mokajji through the blessing of a Muslim saint, Shaikh Burhan. The baby was named after the Shaikh, Shaikhji. Mokajji extended his territories in all directions which brought him into conflict with the ruler of Amber. The attack of Amber over Amarsar, the seat of Mokajji, terminated the nominal suzerainty of Amber over Shaikhwati. Thereafter the Shaikhawats became independent of Amber and discontinued the practice of sending the calves to Amber till they were again made vassals by Sawai Jai Singh

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1. A.N., Vol. iii, p.p. 416-440.
 2. Nizamuddin, Vol. ii, p. 669
 3. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 807.

in the eighteenth century. The genealogical account of the Rajput sources is not reliable and therefore no attempt is made to trace the genealogy of Lonkarn, Rai Sal and other Shaikhawats. According to the reliable sources Raimal lived during the early sixteenth century. His son, Suja was the father of Rai Lonkarn and Rai Sal Darbari. The Mughal historians mention with malicious pleasure that Hasan Khan, the father of Sher Shah Suri, was in the service of Raimal. After the death of Suja, Lonkarn, his eldest son secured the family seat of Amarsar.¹

Lonkarn joined the service of Mirza Sharafuddin Hussain and played an important role in the conquest of Merta.² After the rebellion and expulsion of the Mirza he joined the imperial service. In 1576, he was sent against Rana Pratap Singh. He fought along with Man Singh in the battle of Haldighati. He fled with his contingents like 'a flock of sheep' at the first attack of the Rana led by Hakim Sur, but later rejoined the battle with the support of the right wing.³ In 1577, he accompanied the emperor to Mewar again. He was also sent with Birbar to Dungarpur to fetch the daughter of its ruler whom Akbar had agreed to take into marriage.⁴ In 1583, Akbar made some administrative reforms and appointed him to committee consisting of

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1. Jawala Sahai Vol. 1, pp. 660-663; Bhakkari, Vol. 1, p. 103.
 2. A.N., Vol. 11, p. 162.
 3. Badaoni, Vol. 11, pp. 230-231.
 4. A.N., Vol. 111, pp. 196-210.

of Quli Khan, Jagannath and Salih Aqil to watch over the property of the deceased persons and the conveyance of it to the heirs.¹ In the same year Lonkarn was sent against Muzaffar, the ex-ruler of Gujarat, who had re-occupied Gujarat, under the command of Mirza Khan (Khan Khnau). The presence of a large number of non-Muslims in this expedition is significant.²

In the major pre-1580 expeditions the number of Hindus was very small, except where the expedition was led by the emperor himself. Battle of Haldighati is the only exception to this rule. After 1580 there was a tendency of increasing participation by the non-Muslims in civil and Military affairs of the empire. This tendency continued without interruption throughout the Mughal and the British rule.

Lonkarn seems to have died some time after 1584. His son Mirza Manohar was a well-known Persian poet.

MADHAVA SINGH

He was the son of Bhagwant Das. While Akbar was proceeding for the conquest of Gujarat in 1572, ~~in~~ Daniyal was born at Ajmer on 9th September, 1572. In October, 1572, the baby was sent to Amber to be looked after by the wife of

1. ANU, p. 404.

2. Ibid, pp. 413-424.

Bharahmall.¹ In April 1573, on his return after the conquest of Gujarat, Akbar sent Madhava Singh to Amber to fetch the baby prince; he also sent along with him his wife (daughter of Bharamall) to join in the mourning for Bhupat who was killed at Sarnai.² He served with his father, Bhagwant Das, in the first and the second Gujarat expeditions. In 1576, he accompanied his brother Man Singh against Rana Pratap Singh.³ In the battle of Haldighati he commanded the altamash of the Mughal army. The Rana's attack on the Mughal van and the left wing was so fierce that the imperialists were completely disorganised. In the van it was only Jagannath who stood firm. He, however, was saved by the timely arrival of the altamash.⁴ The Kachhwahas remained posted in Mewar till 1577. Madhava Singh also remained there. In 1578, the jagirs of the Kachhwahas were transferred to the Punjab and they were sent there to administer them but Madhava Singh continued to stay with Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. It was the practice of Akbar to make at least one pilgrimage a year to Ajmer. In 1580, he gave up this practice and instead sent his son Daniyal with Madhava Singh.⁵ They went to Ajmer in July, 1580, and returned to Fatehpur in August, 1580.⁶

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1. A.N., Vol. ii, p. 373.
 2. Ibid, Vol. iii, p. 34.
 3. Ibid, p. 166.
 4. Ibid, p. 174.
 5. Ibid, p. 317.
 6. Ibid, p. 353.

Madhava Singh accompanied the emperor in his Kabul expedition in 1581, and he was placed in the van of the invading army.¹ The Kachhwahas played a significant role in the final victory over Mirza Hakim. Madhava Singh's attack on the enemy was largely responsible for the Mughal victory.²

Madhava Singh seems to have been left by Akbar in the Punjab when he went back to Fatehpur in 1581. The western front was quiet after the return of Akbar and the Kachhwahas had a respite for about four years, but the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585 brought Akbar back to the western border of his empire. He organised systematic operations in Baluchistan, Swat, Bajapur and Kashmir. Madhava Singh was sent with his father for the conquest of Kashmir.³ The Mughal army suffered heavily on account of want of provisions, and the snow but in spite of these drawbacks Madhava Singh and Aminuddin cleared the pass blocked up by the enemy, for the safe entry of the invading Mughal army into the valley.⁴ Abul Fazl's account of February 1586, creates difficulty in understanding the role of Madhava Singh. According to his account Madhava Singh fought a battle with the Kashmiris to clear the pass in which several Rajputs were killed.⁵ He does not give the date of this battle but an approximate date can be fixed. Yusuf Shah

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1. ANM, p. 365.
 2. Ibid, p. 474.
 3. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 481
 4. Ibid,
 5. Ibid, p. 480.

the ruler of Kashmir came to visit Bhagwant Das on 4th Isfandarmaz and the imperialists planned to return with him to the court.¹ The news of Yusuf's coming reached the court after three days i.e. 7th of the same month.² Akbar did not approve the treaty and ordered the army to go ahead for the conquest of Kashmir.³ These orders must have taken atleast another three days to reach the Mughal officers of Kashmir expedition. Madhava Singh and Aminuddin could have proceeded to clear the pass after the arrival of the imperial order earliest by 10th Isfandarmaz, and the battle to clear the pass must have taken place not before 15th of the same month. In his account of Man Singh's victory over the Roushanias, Abul Fazl associates Madhava Singh with it also. The victory must have occurred in the first week of Isfandarmaz because Akbar got it's news on the 7th.⁴ Obviously Madhava Singh could not operate at two places at the same time. It is likely the Madhava's name has been included in Man Singh's account by mistake.

In April, 1586, Ismail Guli was appointed against the Yusufzais and Madhava Singh was ordered to support him with the contingents of Bhagwant Das who was ill.⁵ In spite of heavy

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1. A.N., pp. 480.
 2. Ibid, p. 486.
 3. Ibid, p. 481.
 4. Ibid, p. 486.
 5. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 492.

deployment of the forces the Afghans could not be suppressed. Ismail Quli appointed Madhava Singh, the thanedar of Langarkot, one of the several thanas established by him. In November 1586, Zain Khan Koka was appointed to punish the Afghans who had killed Snyyed Hamid Bukhari, the jagirdar of Peshawar. The Koka opened a grand campaign against them. Madhava Singh was directed to proceed from his station towards Peshawar ¹ to assist the Koka in the suppression of the Afghans. In December 1586, Man Singh who had come from Kabul in order to escort Mirza Sulaiman, the ex-ruler of Badakhshan, and also on account of the request of Zain Khan Koka, was being hard pressed by the Roushanias. Madhava Singh, learning about his brother's difficulty, rushed towards Ali Masjid where Man Singh was camping. Madhava Singh's timely arrival with the contingents of Bhagwant Das boosted the morale of the Mughal army and the enemy rolled back to their hideouts. Madhava Singh's arrival made it possible for Man Singh to escort the caravan and Mirza Sulaiman to Peshawar through the Khaibar pass.² Madhava Singh also came to Peshawar from where he went to Lahore to join his father, the governor of the suba. In June 1589, when Akbar visited Kashmir, prince Saleem, Asaf Khan and Madhava were assigned the duty of escorting the ladies.³ Madhava Singh remained with the emperor in this visit to Kashmir and Kabul. In November 1589, Madhava's father Bhagwant Das

1. Annals, p. 510.

2. Ibid., p. 514.

3. Ibid., p. 547.

died at Lahore. He was one of the three governors of the Punjab. After his death Akbar gave the title of Raja to his eldest son, Man Singh and his younger son Madhava Singh was sent to Lahore to assist Qulij Khan, the only surviving governor of Lahore, in administrative and financial matters.¹ In March 1590, when Akbar reached near Lahore, Qulij Khan and Madhava Singh came to welcome him.² Madhava Singh seems to have kept the charge of the suba with Qulij Khan for a long time. Akbar's presence at Lahore had reduced the status of the governor of the suba. However, Madhava Singh remained with the emperor and returned with him to Agra in 1598.

After a lapse of over two decades Madhava Singh was again posted against Mewar under the command of prince Saleem in 1599. The expedition was farce from the very beginning. Since Akbar wanted to keep his son occupied in some less dangerous affair he sent him to ^rAjmer against the Rana, and himself went towards the Deccan.³ Akbar also appointed Man Singh to this expedition. Saleem was not interested in his work and spent the greater part of his time at Ajmer. When at last he went to Udaipur the Rana dodged him and came out from another side and attacked Malpur. Saleem sent Madhava Singh against

1. A.N., p. 570. Lahore was the capital of the empire at this .

2. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 575.

3. Ibid, p. 763.

the Rana but Madhava Singh, like his commander, also came back because Saleem had given up the campaign and had gone to Allahabad.¹ Madhava Singh seems to have re-joined the emperor in his tour of Malwa and the Deccan.² In 1603, Madhava Singh who had a rank of 2000 swar was given a rank of 3000 zat and 2000 swar.³ In 1604 when Saleem visited Akbar to mourn the death of his grandmother Mariam Makani, Madhava was secretly ordered by Akbar to arrest Raja Basu of Mau who had come with the prince but was staying on the other side of the river but Basu escaped before Madhava Singh could reach there.⁴

1. A.N.iii, p. 773.

2. Hardly any information is available about Madhava Singh between 1600 and 1604. It would normally mean that he was placed under a noble of a very high rank, at a place where there was little military activity, or that he attended upon the emperor and was not assigned any specific duty. Prasad (pp. 175-78) has reproduced an endorsement of a parwana of Man Singh about a grant to a temple at Baikatpur (near Patna). This endorsement was ~~'dictated'~~ 'dictated' by Madhava Singh on May 4, 1602. This document does not bear the seal of any official of the suba of Bihar.

There was a lot of military activity in Bihar and Bengal in 1602. Maha Singh had to come from Bengal to Purnea to suppress the rebellion of Qazi Momin. If Madhava Singh was around Patna at that time his name should have been mentioned by the historians at least in this connection. If the document, wrongly called 'farman' by Prasad, is genuine we can only infer that Madhava Singh went to Bihar on a short personal visit. We have to wait for the final assessment till the original document, whose certified copy is reproduced by Prasad, is discovered.

3. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 820, Nizamuddin, Vol. ii, p. 668.

4. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 833.

Jahangir held Madhava Singh and Khusrau responsible for the death of his wife Shah Begum who was Madhava Singh's sister. He says that she committed suicide on account of their misconduct. But there is little doubt that Jahangir was equally responsible for her death. Akbarnama accuses Jahangir of misbehaviour with that hypersensitive lady. Jahangir no doubt loved the Kachhwaha princess, perhaps the first woman in his life, and the mother of his two eldest children. The unfortunate hostility between her husband and her son must have driven her crazy. Whatever Jahangir may say about Madhava Singh, it is obvious from the contemporary accounts that in spite of Man Singh's leading role in the conspiracy against Jahangir, Madhava Singh kept himself out of it. He was one of the first who joined Saleem and declared him the emperor. It was Madhava Singh who brought about reconciliation between Jahangir and Man Singh.¹ Jahangir confirmed the rank of Madhava Singh and gave him a flag in 1605.² However Jahangir distrusted him and did not give him any assignment.

RAJA MAHA SINGH

Maha Singh was the son of Jagat Singh, the eldest son of Man Singh. He was brought up as a natural heir to the gaddi of Amber. In 1594, Jagat Singh was not allowed to go to Bengal

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1. AN. II, p. 826, Tuzuk, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 55;
Asad Beg, f. 29-30.
 2. Tuzuk op. cit., Vol. I, p. 17.

with his father. He stayed at the court. The young Maha Singh also stayed back with his father. They lived at Lahore and later at Agra. Man Singh who held the charge of suba of Bengal came to Agra in 1599. In Septembär, 1599, he was sent to Ajmer with prince Saleem, and his son Jagat Singh was appointed his deputy in Bengal but the latter died at Agra before he could leave for Bengal. Akbar appointed his son, Maha Singh, as the deputy of Man Singh.¹ It is very surprising that though the Mughal officers held their ranks and positions as individuals, the principle of heredity was recognised in the case of Man Singh. Maha Singh was tender in age, so Pratap Singh his uncle, was appointed his guardian and they were sent off to Bengal.

The Afghans took advantage of the absence of Man Singh from Bengal. Even such Afghans as Usman and Sajawal who had submitted to Man Singh, unfurled the standard of revolt. Maha Singh and his ataliq Pratap Singh engaged the enemy without proper preparations at Bhadrak and suffered a complete defeat in May, 1600. The defeat of the Mughals encouraged the Afghans and a greater part of Bengal was lost to the Mughals.² On account of the lack of leadership among the Mughals the Afghans got an upper hand. They defeated Maha Singh's forces

1. A.H., Vol. iii, p. 763.

2. Ibid. p. 770.

several times and even the bakhshi of the suba, Mir Abdur Razzaq Mamuri, was taken captive by them.¹ The Mughal prestige was restored in Bengal only after the arrival of Man Singh.

After his arrival in Bengal, Man Singh gave the charge of Goraghat to Maha Singh. Man Singh learnt that Jalal of Kahakra had attacked and plundered the towns, of Maldah and Akra. He sent Baqar An[^]sari to assist Maha Singh and punish Jalal. The combined forces of Maha Singh and Baqar Ansari went to Kahakra, Maha Singh displayed great valour and at the risk of his own life, he put his horse into the river and attacked the enemy but Jalal 'fled like wind' at the approach of Maha Singh. Maha Singh then turned his attention towards Qazi Momin who had created disturbances in the district of Purnia. He attacked the Qazi and the latter was killed in an encounter.² Thus Maha Singh more than compensated his early reverses in Bengal and helped his grandfather in restoring peace in the suba. Maha Singh's distinguished services in Bengal pleased Akbar and he gave him a mansab of 2000 zat and 300 swar in 1605.³ It is to be noticed that Akbar gave Maha Singh a higher rank than those of Man Singh's sons. It is thus obvious that he was being groomed for the gaddi of Amber.

1. A.N.ii., p. 784.

2. Ibid., p. 808.

3. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 839.

At the accession of Jahangir all the officers of Akbar's reign were confirmed in their ranks and offices. Maha Singh's rank of 2000 zat was confirmed and he was presented with a robe of honour.¹ He seems to have accompanied Jahangir in his pursuit of Khusrau, and the visit to Kabul. In 1607, he appointed him against Bangash. Ram Das Kachhwaha was appointed his ataliq.² In the seventh regnal year his rank was increased by 500 zat and swar making it a mansab of 3000 zat 2000 swar.³ Maha Singh was further honoured in 1610 by the award of a standard.⁴ About the same time he was sent to Bandugarh to punish its ruler Bikramajeet, he was also directed to administer the jagir of Man Singh which he was near Bandugarh.⁵ Maha Singh was looking forward to becoming the ruler of Amber after the death of Man Singh. Jahangir's marriage⁶ to his sister in 1608 had further strengthened his hopes. But in 1614, when Man Singh died Jahangir recognised Bhao Singh, as the Raja of Amber. Jahangir's intervention in the succession of Amber was simply an assertion of his right to grant the tika. Jahangir had nothing against Maha Singh. In fact he was one of his favourites from Man Singh's family. However, he writes, "Although the chiefship and headship of their family, according to the Hindu custom, should go to Maha Singh, son of Jagat Singh,

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1. Tuzuk, Vol. 1, p. 17.
 2. Ibid. p. 111.
 3. Ibid. p. 217.
 4. Ibid. p. 168.
 5. Ibid. p. 176.
 6. Ibid. pp. 144-145.

the Raja's (Man Singh) eldest son, who had died in the latter's lifetime, I did not accept him" and to soothe and console "the mind of Maha Singh, increased his former rank by 500, and gave him as inam the territory or Garha. I also sent him a jewelled dagger belt, a horse and dress of honour.¹ Thus in 1614, his mansab become 3500 zat. He seems to have got an increase of 500 swar rank because Jahangir says that in 1616 he increased his rank by 500 zat wa swar. He thus got a rank of 4000 zat and 3000 swar.² With the increased rank and the title of Raja and awarded of standard and drums,³ he was sent to the Deccan which was increasingly becoming a graveyard for the Mughal officers including the Kachhwahas. Like his grandfather Man Singh, he died in Berar in 1617.⁴

Jagat Singh and Maha Singh were alcoholics and both of them died of excessive drinking at an early age. Maha Singh's career was not particularly bright but, for his regard for the old families, Jahangir gave him a high rank.

Mohan. See Tileksi.

MIRZA MANOHAR TAUSANI

Manohar was the son of Rai Lonkarn Shaikhawat. He was brought up by Akbar in the court atmosphere. He is known more for his Persian poetry than for his fencing. He was endowed

1. Tuzuk, Vol. 1, p. 266.

2. Ibid, p. p. 328.

3. Ibid, p. 297.

4. Ibid, p. 389.

with an extraordinary intelligence and wit. Jahangir who considered the Rajputs to be devoid of understanding and intelligence admits that Manohar was 'not without intelligence'. He has quoted one of his verses in his autobiography. Badaoni in his characteristic style has included 'the Hindu' in his biographies of the learned because of his poetic genius and ecstatic feelings. Badaoni has quoted several of his verses which represent the typical sentiments of the medieval mystics. Badaoni says that the 'Attic Salt' of his verses is the effect of his native land, Sambhar (salt lake). He adds that Manohar possessed wonderful personal beauty and an extraordinary intellectual power. He was called Muhammad Manohar and later received the title of Mirza. Manohar was known as Tausani in the poetic circles. Bhakkari, writing in the reign of Shahjahan, testifies that his diwan was very popular. He has also quoted some of his verses. He was the first Hindu poet whose diwan became popular in Persia and the only one whose verses were entered by Saib in his bayaz.¹

Akbar was initially very fond of Manohar. In 1577, he laid the foundation of a city near Amber in the territory of Lonkarn and named it after him as Manoharnagar.² He could not

1. Badaoni, English translation, Vol. iii, Calcutta, 1925, pp. 278-279; Bhakkari, Vol. i, pp. 219-221; Tuzuk, Vol. i, p. 17; Lakshmi Narain Shafia, Gul-i-Rasana MS. Bankipur, f. 266a.

2. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 221.

make a mark in the court of Akbar as a poet because Akbar did not approve of his poetry. But he utilised his services in the battlefields. He served the empire with his father and after his death he became the chief of his family and served in the Deccan.¹ The Ain has listed him among the mansabdars of 400 sat.² Nizamuddin has also included him in his list,³ which means that he ranked among the Amirs.

Jahangir sent him against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar in the first year of his reign.⁴ In the following year his rank was increased to 1000 sat and 600 swar. Like many other Kachhwahas his promotion was very slow. His next promotion of 200 swar was after five years.⁵ He died in the Deccan, the graveyard of the Kachhwahas, in 1616. His son Prithi Chand succeeded him.⁶

MANRUP. See Ram Chand.

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1. A.N. III, pp. 769, 771.
 2. Blochmann, p. 554.
 3. Nizamuddin, Vol. ii, p. 680.
 4. Tuzuk, Vol. i, p. 17.
 5. Ibid, pp. 112-231.
 6. Ibid, p. 321.

MAN SINGH DARBARI

He was one of the close companions of Akbar. He accompanied Akbar in 1573 in his rapid march to Ahmedabad and fought with courage in the presence of the emperor.¹ After his victory over Muhammad Husain Mirza, Akbar handed over the Mirza to the charge of Man Singh Darbari.² He also served under Man Singh in the Kabul expedition of 1581. Man Singh Darbari and his son Sakat Singh remained with Raja Man Singh in the west.³ He seems to have died in the eighties. He was a mansabdar of 300 zat.⁴

NARAIN DAS (+)

Narain Das was the brother of Bharahmall. He did not join the Mughal service like his brothers and nephews and consequently did not get mansab from the government, but his relations with the emperor were friendly and cordial. On his return after the second Gujarat expedition in 1573, Akbar stayed at his residence at his village Mahrot, between Ajmer and Amber.⁵

NARAIN DAS KACHHWAHA (-)

He lived during the reign of Jahangir. In his third regnal year Jahangir sent him against Rana Amar Singh. At the end of Jahangir's reign he held the mansab of 2000.⁶

1. A.N., Vol. 111, pp. 49-56.

2. Ibid., p. 59.

3. Ibid., p. 353.

4. Blochmann, p. 569.

5. A.N., Vol. 111, pp. 220-221.

(*) and (**) can not be the same person because none of the sons of Prithviraj, who died in 1527, would be fit enough for active military service in 1605.

6. Tuzuk, Vol. 1, p. 147; Nensi's Vigat Vol. 11, pp. 492-93.

PRATAP SINGH

He was the son of Bhagwant Das. He usually stayed with the emperor. In October 1598, he attempted suicide by cutting his throat by a dagger. His condition became serious. Akbar appointed skilled surgeons to attend him. He recovered after some time.¹ It has not been possible to discover the reasons for his action but Abul Fazl's attempt to attribute it to insanity is unconvincing because in September 1599, he was assigned a very responsible job of administering the turbulent province of Bengal as the guardian of his nephew Maha Singh, who was officiating Man Singh.² Such a job could not be entrusted to a insane person. In 1599, Pratap Singh reached Bengal with his young nephew but they could not control the situation and Man Singh had to return to Bengal. Some time after the arrival of Man Singh, Pratap Singh reported at the court in 1602.³ In the Ain Pratap Singh is listed among the mansabdars of 200 only.⁴ His rank must have been increased at the time of his appointment as the guardian of Maha Singh because he had a rank of 1000 zat and 500 swar at the time of Akbar's death⁵. Like many other Kachhwahas he sank into insignificance during the reign of Jahangir.

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1. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 744; M.U., Vol. ii, p. 4.
 2. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 793.
 3. Ibid, p. 810.
 4. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 581.
 5. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 836.

PRITHI CHAND

He was the son of Mirza Manohar. He succeeded to the headship of the family, and to the gaddi of Amarsar and Sambhar after his father's death in 1616.¹ He was sent against Kangra in 1616 where he was killed in an encounter with the enemy in 1620.² His rank at his death was 700 zat and 450 swar. He had begun his career as a mansabdar of 500 zat and 400 swar in 1616.³

RAGHAVA DAS

Raghava Das was the son of Khangar. He served in the Deccan during the reign of Akbar. After his death the family of Jagmal, the brother of Bharammall, lost importance.⁴

RAGHAVA DAS KACHHWAHA

He appears to be a poor relation of Raja Bhagwant Das. He served in Gujarat in 1573, and was killed in the presence of Akbar in the battle against Muhammad Hussain Mirza. Armour was a very expensive equipment of war in those days; even some of the Kachhwahas whose resources were certainly more than the average soldier of Akbar's time could not afford it. Raghava Das wore no armour when he was killed.⁵

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1. Tuzuk, Vol. i, pp. 321, 328.
 2. Ibid., Vol. ii, pp. 25, 26, 195.
 3. Ibid., Vol. i, pp. 321, 328; Vol. ii, p. 26.
 4. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 807.
 5. Ibid., p. 62; Tuzuk, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 43.

RAI SAL DARBARI

He was a Shaikhawat Kachhwaha. After his father, Suja's death, Rai Sal got the small zamindari of Lambi while the family seat of Sambhar and Amarsar went to Lonkarn, his elder brother. There is an interesting story, the authenticity of which could not be ascertained, about his joining the imperial service. There was an argument between Lonkarn and Debi Das, a baqqal, about the superiority of intelligence over wealth. Debi Das argued in favour of intelligence and Lonkarn opposed it. Lonkarn demanded that Debi Das should go to Lambi to make his fortune. Debi Das knew that Lambi was a small zamindari and Rai Sal could not afford to share it with him so he persuaded Rai Sal to seek a fortune together with him at the royal court. Rai Sal, who was brave and courageous, agreed, but ~~that~~ he could hardly collect twenty five horsemen. At that time the Mughal army was being organised to meet an Afghan attack (perhaps Hemu's). Rai Sal joined the imperial army and distinguished himself by killing an enemy leader. Akbar was pleased with his performance; he gave him the title of Darbari and granted him the parganas of Rewasa and Kausli, in Jagir, which were in the possession of Chandela Rajputs. Rai Sal again distinguished himself against Bhatner and was given additional Jagirs of Khandela and Udaipur which were in the possession of Nirbans, and since then Khandela became the headquarters of Shaikhawati.

Rai Sal's descendants are called Raisalots and are settled in south Shaikhawati.¹

Rai Sal joined the imperial service at some early stage. In 1565, he was sent with Todarmal and Lashkar Khan against the Uzbeks. He participated in the battle of Khairabad.² He accompanied the emperor in both the Gujarat expeditions of 1572-73, and displayed his valour in the presence of Akbar.³ He remained in constant attendance upon the emperor and, therefore, he was known as Darbari. During the great crisis of 1580-83, Rai Sal served in Kabul and the Punjab.⁴ His position in the court was that of a confidential attendant. Even important nobles like Shahbaz Khan were handed over to him as prisoners. Shahbaz Khan was twice his guest prisoner, once in 1582 and again in 1590.⁵ Ain has listed him among the mansabdars of 1250 zat.⁶

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1. Jwala Sahai, Vol. 1, pp. 663-665.
 2. A.N., Vol. 11, p. 261-262.
 3. Ibid, Vol. 111, pp. 12, 49-50, 56.
 4. Ibid, pp. 353. 513.
 5. Ibid, pp. 375, 641. Shahbaz Khan did not realise that in spite of his achievements and his service to the emperor he remained a Kamboh and Mirza Khan, though young, was a high born noble. Mirza Khan was given the title of Khan Khanan. In matters of protocol Mirza Khan got precedence over Shahbaz Khan which infuriated the proud Kamboh. Akbar in order to instruct him in 'the school of practical wisdom' imprisoned him. He was soon released from the prison and was sent to the east to deal with the great rebellion. Shahbaz was again imprisoned in 1590's and was placed under the charge of Rai Sal.
 6. Blochmann, p. 462.

Towards the end of Akbar's reign he got rapid promotions. According to Nizamuddin he had a mansab of 2000.¹ In 1602 he was promoted to 2500 zat and 1250 swar.² Rai Sal had cast his die in favour of Jahangir in the issue of succession which had its rewards.³ Jahangir raised his rank to 3000 zat.⁴ Rai Sal must be an old man at the time of Jahangir's accession. He seems to have been relieved of active military duty. It also appears that he died in 1615, in the Deccan because Girdhar, his son, was raised to the rank of 800 zat and 800 swar in that year.⁵

RAJA RAJ SINGH

He was the son of Raja Askarn, the brother of Bharahmall. Narwar, the principality of Askarn, was recognised as a zamindari independant of Amber by the Mughal emperors. Its rulers had the title of Raja. He served in the Deccan. In 1599 he was recalled from there, and was made the Qiledar of the strong fortress of Gwalior where important political prisoners were kept.⁶ This was a position of great trust. When Akbar decided

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1. Nizamuddin, Vol., ii, p. 671.
 2. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 809.
 3. Khayat of Patalpotha.
 4. Tuzuk, Vol. i, p. 17.
 5. Tuzuk., Vol Vol. i, p. 298.
 6. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 751.
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to annex the kingdom of Khandesh he called Raj Singh from Gwalior to Asirgarh to take charge of its' ruler. Raj Singh took Bahadur, the last ruler of the Farooqi dynasty, to Gwalior where he was kept as a prisoner.¹ In October 1601, he visited Akbar at Agra and went back to Malwa to resume his duty.² In 1602, as an officer of Malwa he was posted at Autri, a place only three kos from the place of Abul Fazi's murder. It is very surprising that Raja Singh and Rai Rayan Patr Das, with about three thousand cavalry, were near the site of Abul Fazi's murder and they had no information about the plans of Bir Singh Bundela. It is equally surprising that these officers did not take any action against Bir Singh Bundela till they were ordered to do so by Akbar.³ Rai Rayan and Raj Singh pursued him in the jungles of Bundelkhand. He finally took shelter in the fort of Irich. The fort was besieged by the imperialists but the Bundela escaped on account of the negligence of Raj Singh.⁴ The latter compensated his earlier slackness by a vigorous campaign against the Bundela, but he could not succeed in capturing him. In 1604, Akbar gave the title of Raja Bikrajjeet to Rai Rayan and raised his rank to 5000 sat; he also increased the rank of Raja Raj Singh to 3500 sat and 3000 swar. Akbar also honoured Raj Singh with

1. A.N. III pp. 779, 785.

2. Ibid, p. 798.

3. Ibid, pp. 812, 813.

4. Ibid, p. 816.

favours like gift of a horse, a shawl, and a drum and again sent him against Bir Singh Bundela along with several other officers.¹ In 1605, Raj Singh wounded the Bundela and killed several of his companions but the wounded Bundela escaped.² *Takmil-i- Akbarnama* writes that his rank was raised to 3000 which is obviously wrong, because he already enjoyed the rank of 3500. However, in recognition of his services, Akbar further raised his rank to 4000.³

The death of Akbar and the accession of Jahangir made the absconder Bir Singh Bundela a leading noble and Raj Singh, his pursuer, went into obscurity. He was sent to the Deccan, where he served for about a decade and died there in 1615.⁴ His son Ram Dass was recognized as the ruler of Warwar.

RAM CHAND

He was the son of Jagannath. He served under his father. The *Ain* has listed him among the mansabdars of 400.⁵ Abul Fazl's Ram Chand and Jahangir's Karam Chand are considered to be the same person. He served in the Deccan in reign of Akbar and Jahangir. After the death of his father he was given a rank of 2000 sat and 1500 swar.⁶ He continued to serve under Jahangir without distinction.⁷

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1. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 827.
 2. Ibid, p. 836.
 3. Ibid, p. 839.
 4. Tuzuk, Vol. i, pp. 300-301.
 5. Blochmann, p. 555.
 6. Tuzuk, Vol. i, p. 156.
 7. Ibid, Vol. ii, p. 54.

His son Manrup joined Shahjahan's rebellion, and died in Shahjahan's reign.¹ He is the only Kachhwaha who supported Shahjahan.

RAM DAS

Ram Das was the son of Raja Raj Singh. Jahangir gave him a rank of 1000 zat and 400 swar at his father's death, but withheld the tika, which he gave him after two years, ~~with~~ with an increase of mansab.² Within two years of his father's death Ram Das got a rank of 1500 zat and 700 swar.³ He got another promotion in 1523 when he loyally served the emperor during the rebellion of Shahjahan.⁴

RAJA RAMDAS KACHHWAHA

His father Udat was a man of small means. He lived at his native place Luni,⁵ near Ranthambhore. Ram Das, at first, was in the service of Rai Sal Darbari. Since Rai Sal was the

1. Blochmann, p. 422.
2. Tuzuk, Vol. i, pp. 300-301, 418.
3. Ibid, pp. 301, 335, 418.
4. Ibid, Vol. ii, pp. 256, 260.
5. Bhakkari, Vol. i, p. 238; M.U., Vol. ii, p. 155. Abul Fazi says (Akbarnama, Vol. iii, p. 65), that the home of Ram Das was Newata. According to Abul Fazi's description of Akbar's journey from Ajmer to Agra it is obvious that Newata lies somewhere mid-way between Toda and Ajmer. Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin says that it was Luni, which is unlikely.

personal attendant of the emperor and was his constant companion, Ram Das came to his notice and was enrolled among the imperial servants. He was a self made man and through hard work and devotion became an amir of a high rank. Except for few occasions, he remained with the emperor.

In 1573, he accompanied the emperor in his rapid march to Gujarat and remained constantly by his side.¹ In 1584, there was a lot of confusion in Bengal. Shahbaz Khan, the Mughal commander, had suffered a complete defeat at the hands of the Afghans. His haughty manners and bad temper, and above all his pride, had alienated most of the officers, who separated themselves from him. The great Mughal commanders like Shahbaz Khan, Wazir Khan and Saeed Khan Chaghta could not agree on a joint plan. Akbar sent several officers to bring concord among them. Finally he sent Ram Das, who was familiar with the eastern problem because he had worked there for some time with Raja Todarnal,² "to use sharp words to produce a beneficent effect and make them keener in service".³ Ram Das created a new enthusiasm in the army of the east by his pleasing manners.

1. A.H., Vol. iii, p. 49.

2. Akram Ali, Bihar Wa Bengal Mein Raja Todarnal Ki Karguzarian, p. 1.

3. A.H., Vol. iii, p. 44 O.

The officers who were earlier cold towards Shahbag Khan supported him on account of Ram Das's tactful handling of the situation. In December 1584, Ram Das accompanied the eastern forces and led them to victory.¹ In 1585, he returned to the Punjab and remained with the emperor till the latter's death

The relationship between Akbar and Ram Das was different from that of a master and a servant. It was a relationship of excessive devotion, affection and trust. Although he had a palace like the other nobles but he always stayed in the fort or in the camp in the Peshkhana or Balishkhana. Be it the public audience or the private chamber, Ram Das would always be there with Akbar.² In 1601 Ram Das son Datman Das had gone to his village without leave and was killed in an encounter with the force sent to fetch him. Akbar visited the house of Ram Das, 'the chosen servant' to console him on the death of his son.³ In the same year Ram Das' daughter was married to Raja Shiam Singh. Akbar attended the marriage celebration and gave money worth about one and a half quintals of silver towards wedding expenses.⁴ Ram Das was entrusted with administrative responsibility. He once held the charge of looking after the routes of Malwa and

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1. A.N.H., p. 448.
 2. Bhakkari, p. 239.
 3. A.N., Vol. iii, pp. 788-789.
 4. Ibid, p. 799.

the Deccan so that the unauthorized dues were not collected from the merchants.¹ In the issue of succession Ram Das, ignoring the entreaties of Raja Man Singh, supported Saleem. His support ensured the succession of Saleem.²

Ram Das was one of the few nobles of Akbar who had the full confidence of Jahangir. He could see the emperor at any time and at any place. Jahangir raised his rank from 2000 to 3000 in 1605.³ In 1606, accompanied the emperor to the Punjab and Kabul. In 1607, he was appointed ataliq of Maha Singh, the grandson of Man Singh, when the latter was sent against Bangash.⁴ Ram Das joined the emperor after this expedition and was present by his side when a tiger attacked him. In 1611, Jahangir appointed him with Abdullah Khan Piroz Jung, the governor of Gujarat, to the Deccan command. On that occasion Jahangir bestowed upon him the title of Raja, gave him drums, and also gave him the fort of Ranthambhore. Jahangir's object of appointing Ram Das with Abdullah Khan was to restrain the latter and "not to allow him to be too rash and hasty". But as expected, Ram Das's entreaties with Abdullah Khan failed, he made a rash dash into the enemy country and sustained complete defeat with

1. A.N.II, p. 801.

2. Khayat of Patialpatha; Asad Beg, f. 29.

3. A.N., Vol. III, p. 837; Tuzuk., Vol. I, p. 21.

4. Tuzuk, Vol. I, p. 111.

heavy losses. The defeat of the Gujarat army in the Deccan upset Jahangir but it did not effect the position of Ram Das. When he returned from the Deccan he was received with honour.¹ and was sent to Bangash on a mission of reconciliation between Gulij Khan and other officers of Kabul.² He died in Bangash in 1613.³ Fifteen women and twenty servants committed satee at his death.⁴

Ram Das was a man of endearing qualities. He was often selected for missions of bringing about reconciliation and concord among the officers. The author of Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin calls him an expert in solving the problems of the nobles. He always inspired trust. His requests were seldom turned down by nobles. He was very popular among them and collected a large fortune from them. He was very generous and several instances of his generosity are reported in Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin. He was a great friend of Shaikh Farid Bukhari. They played chaupar together and sometimes the game lasted several days and often ended in physical fights.⁵

1. Tuzukī pp. 201, 220, 233.
2. Ibid, p. 233
3. Ibid, p. 252.
4. Shakhari, Vol, i, p. 241.
5. A.H., Vol. ii, pp. 238-241.

Ram Das is a typical example of the rise of a man of obscure origin to the position of an amir of high rank during the Mughal period.

RUPSI BAIIRAGI ¹

Rupsi was the younger (half) brother² of Raja Bharammall. Rupsi perhaps encouraged Suja, son of Purnamal, the late ruler of Amber, to claim the gaddi of Amber. Mirza Sharafuddin Hussain attacked Amber at the instigation of Suja and Rupsi. The Mirza took Bharammall's son and nephews as hostage while Rupsi and his son Jainmal were spared. He was the headman of Deosa, a village not very far from Amber. In January 1562, when Akbar was passing through his village he sent his son Jainmal to wait upon Akbar because he was expecting trouble for himself on account of Chaghtai Khan's intervention on behalf of Bharammall. Akbar refused to admit Jainmal to audience and demanded Rupsi's personal presence. Finally Rupsi had to appear before the emperor and was received with favour.³ Akbar gave him a chance to show his military ability during the Gujarat campaign but he annoyed the emperor by being rude to him. Shortly before the battle of

1. Nizamuddin, Vol. ii, p. 674.

2. One of the Khyats says that Rupsi was the son of Bharammall, vide, Prasad, p. 42. Maasir says that he was the nephew of Bharammall, vide, Blochmann, p. 472. A.N., Vol. ii, p. 156. calls him brother of Bharammall.

3. A.N., Vol. ii, p. 156.

Ahmadabad, on September 2, 1573, Rupsi's son Jaimal appeared before the emperor, wearing a heavy cuirass. Akbar took the armour off him and gave him a new one from the royal armoury. He gave Jaimal's cuirass to Karn, a grandson of Maldev, who was not wearing any armour. Rupsi was furious at this and sent someone to demand his son's cuirass. The emperor took it lightly and replied that he had given him a new cuirass in exchange. Rupsi was more annoyed and threw off his own armour. Akbar overlooked the insult and took off his armour and loudly said that if his men proposed to try their valour without any armour it was not proper for him also to wear any cuirass. Bhagwant Das perceiving what had passed, took Rupsi to task and brought him round to apologise. Bhagwant Das reported to Akbar that Rupsi had misbehaved under the influence of an intoxicant (bhang). Rupsi's misconduct was ignored and he was pardoned.¹ He remained mostly at his jagir of Deosa. He or his son, never worked under Bhagwant Das and Man Singh. In 1575, Rupsi and Gulij Khan were commanded to escort Mirza Sulaiman through Rajasthan and Gujarat. He sent off the Mirza for Hijaz at the sport of Surat.²

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 49-50.

2. Ibid, p. 163.

In the list of Ain, he is mentioned among the mansabdars of 1000.¹ According to Nizamuddin his mansab was 1,500.² In Akbarnama he is not referred to as raja but Ain refers to him with the title of raja.

SABAL SINGH

He was the son of Raja Man Singh. He served under his father in Bihar. He was quite active in the conquest of Orissa and he also served in Bengal.³ The Ain has placed him among the mansabdars of 500 zat. He died in the life time of his father.⁴

SHIAM RAM. See Abhay Ram.

SAKAT SINGH, son of Raja Man Singh

He served under his father. Ain has placed him among the mansabdars of 400 zat.⁵ At the time of Akbar's death his rank was 1600 zat and 300 swar.⁶

1. Blochmann, p. 601.
2. Nizamuddin, Vol. ii, p. 674; Bhakkari, Vol. i, p. 229.
3. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 631, 711.
4. Blochmann, p. 543.
5. Blochmann, p. 543.
6. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 835.

SAKAT SINGH, son of Man Singh Darbari

Sakat Singh served with his father who stayed with the emperor. In 1581, he was sent with prince Murad to attack Kabul.¹ He attained the rank of 200 zat.²

SANWAL DAS

He was the son of Lonkarn. He served under his father. His descendants served under Jahangir and Shahjahan.³

SALHADI

He was the son of Bharehmall. He had been in the Mughal service since 1562. The Ain has mentioned his name among the mansabdars of 400 zat.⁴ His rank was raised to 700 zat and 400 swar in 1605.⁵

SUJA

He was the son of Purenmal, the eldest brother of Bharehmall. After Purenmal's death in 1536 the minority of Suja led to a situation of almost a civil war in Amber which attracted the attention of the neighbouring powers. Two of the successors

1. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 353.
2. Blochmann, p. 581.
3. Bhakkari, Vol. i, i, pp. 219, 221.
4. Blochmann, p. 555.
5. A.N., Vol. iii, p. 837; Kewal Ram, op. cit., f. 149.

of Purnamal met violent deaths, and Bharahmall had to secure peace with the invaders twice by offering them his daughters in marriages. In 1562, Suja who had not yet reconciled to Bharahmall's usurpation of the gaddi of Amber, secured the help of a Mughal jagirdar Sharafuddin Husain Mirza but Bharahmall outwitted him by securing an alliance with Akbar.¹ Suja, thus deprived of his ancestral rights, became a camp follower of Sharafuddin Husain Mirza and fought with him at Merta in 1562.² Suja's name is not heard after the Mirza revolted against Akbar and was expelled from Rajasthan.

SURAJ SINGH

He was the son of Bhagwant Das. In 1581, he served under his elder brother, Man Singh. When Shadman, the commander of Mirza Hakim's advance forces invaded India, Man Singh appointed Suraj Singh the leader of the altamash of his army. He fatally wounded Shadman in a hand to hand fight.³

We do not hear about him after the Kabul war of 1581. He seems to have been killed there.

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1. See Bharahmall.
 2. A.N., Vol. II, p. 162.
 3. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 336, 337.

SUR DAS, See Tiloksi.

TILOKSI

He was the nephew of Raja Bharamall. In 1580, he was posted in the Punjab but he came to his home, Luni, in sarkar Ranthambhore with his brothers Mohan and Sur Das and another Kachhwaha, Ucha (Uchle), son of Balbadhr without permission, and created disturbance. They were killed in an encounter with the imperial force.¹

UCHA (UCHLA). See Tiloksi.

UDAI SINGH

He was the son of Jaimal, the son of Rupsi Bairagi. As has been noticed earlier Rupsi's family had backed the claim of Suja, son of Purenmal, for the gaddi of Amber. Lonkarn had also supported Suja. Uday Singh therefore served the Mughals with Lonkarn, and he never worked with Man Singh. In 1583, he was thrown into a dungeon for forcing his (step) mother to commit satee on his farther's death.² He was set at liberty afterwards, and was sent to Gujarat for its' reconquest.³

UGAR SEN

He was the son of Madhava Singh.⁴

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1. A.N., III, 729
 2. See Jaimal.
 3. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 424, 428.
 4. Blochmann, p. 461.

CHAPTER VI

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCE

Political understanding, alliances or subjugation have frequently been backed, in monarchical states, big or small, by matrimonial alliances, in all times and among all peoples, it was fairly common in India and also among the Mughals, Kamran as a ruler of Afghanistan, had entered into such alliances with the leading Afghan tribes and neighbouring states.¹ In 1533, Mirza Haider who was in the service of Saeed Khan, the ruler of Kashghar, conquered Kashmir and allowed its ruler, Mohammed Shah to rule on condition that he would give his daughter in marriage to Iskander Khan, the son of Saeed Khan.² Similarly, Kashmiris sought the help of Sher Shah to oust Mirza Haider, who had occupied the valley after Humayun's expulsion from India, by giving a sister of the ex-ruler of Kashmir in marriage to Sher Shah in 1540.³ In the same way when Humayun reoccupied Delhi, he married a niece of Hasan Khan, a leader of the Mewatis who once spearheaded a powerful opposition to Babar, and another niece of his was married to Bairam Khan, a close associate of the emperor. She later became the proud mother of Abdul Rahim, the famous Hindi poet, and general. Even earlier, the Afghan governor Haji Khan had married a daughter of Baharahlall, the Kachhwaha chief of Amber, and a sister of Udai Singh of Marwar.⁴

1. Kamran married the niece of the Hazara chief, Khizr Khan (Gulbadan, p. 74) and also married Mah Chuchak Begam, daughter of Shah Hussain of Sind (Tarikh-i-Masoomi, p. 182) and Mah Begam Qipchaq, daughter of Sultan Qipchaq, chief of Kalab (Humayun Nama, tr. p. 258). Kamran's another wife was a relative of the Uzbek chief of Balkh, vide, Iqtidar Alam, Mirza Kamran, pp. 29, 30n.

2. A.N., Vol.I, p. 198.

3. Ibid..

4. Muhammad Kabir, Afsana-i-Shahan, f. 187 a.

Therefore, there was nothing new for either of the two parties in the much discussed marriage of the daughter of Bharahmall with Akbar in 1562, and the contemporary and the near contemporary chroniclers have mentioned it without any fanfare.¹ The Raja was primarily motivated by self-interest. It saved the small state of Amber from virtual extinction and permanently decided the issue of succession in his favour as against his nephew Suja, who was claiming the guddi with the help of Mirza Sharafuddin, the jagirdar of Mewat; and it also opened avenues for the rise of the Kachhwahas.² As far as the twenty year old emperor was concerned this marriage seems to be accidental³ or at least not the first step of a well-calculated long term plan, but of course, this alliance provided an opportunity to the young emperor to acquire a better understanding of the Rajputs and to formulate a coherent policy towards them.

The Sultans of Delhi had also married Rajput princesses but they never accorded the same status to them as was enjoyed by the Rajput wives of the Mughals. The Kachhwaha princess enjoyed

1. A.N., Vol. II, p. 157; Badaoni, Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh, vol. II, p. 45; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, tr., Vol. II, pp. 257-58; Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Nawal Kishore, p. 122.

2. A.N., Vol. II, 156-157.

3. Ibid.

some privileges which were ordinarily denied to the Muslim members of the royal harem. In order to honour Bhagwant Das, his sister, who held a high rank in the imperial harem, writes Abul Fazl, was sent to Amber, to present at the mourning for Bhupat, her brother, who was killed in a battle in Gujarat.¹ Sultan Daniyal, when he was only one month old, was sent to Amber to be brought up under the care of the wife of Bharamall.² Not only were Akbar's wives treated with respect and affection but their relatives also had a position of confidence rarely enjoyed by the in-laws of any sultan of Delhi. Although the position of privilege was enjoyed by all the Rajput relatives of Akbar but the Kachhwahas stood head and shoulders above the rest in this respect. When, after the conquest of Orissa in 1594, Man Singh came to pay his respects to the emperor, Akbar sent his heir-apparent Sultan Saleem, to welcome him to Lahore, the then capital.³ This was undoubtedly an honour of great distinction.

Akbar's matrimonial alliance with Amber in 1562 was not followed by similar alliance with other Rajput ruling houses till his control over Rajputana was firmly established in 1570. He contracted marriage with all the leading Hindu and Muslim zamindars who were willing to do so. Abul Fazl leaves no room for speculation about the intention of the emperor with regard to these marriages. He writes in the Ain that 'His Majesty forms matrimonial alliances

1. A.H., Vol. III, p. 34.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.649.

with the princes of Hindustan and of other countries, and secure by these ties of harmony the peace of the world'¹. On another occasion he writes that 'in order to soothe the minds of zamindars', Humayun entered into matrimonial alliances with them², and he writes again that the marriages were contracted with the zamindars 'to pacify them' or to placate them.³

Afzal Husain⁴ has enumerated seventyone matrimonial alliances in the reign of Akbar; thirtyone according to his statement and thirty according to his table 'A' were marriages of Akbar and his sons to four Irani, six Turani, four Indian Muslims, three Deccani, three unknown and ten Rajput ladies. A comparison of his list with Akbarnama alone would reveal that he has not included several marriages of Akbar and his sons in his list. He has mentioned Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Ibrahim Hussain Mirza twice⁵; once as the daughter of the Mirza and again as the sister of the Mirza's son, Muzaffar Hussain Mirza. He has also included Akbar's step mother, who was the daughter of Jamal Khan Mewati, as Akbar's wife.⁶ Thus the total number of Afzal's table 'A' is only twenty eight whereas the actual number of the wives of Akbar and his sons would not be less than thirty-eight. For the study of the political significance of the royal marriages, all the marriages should not be taken into account as has been done by Afzal. There were marriages

1. Blochmann, Ain, vol. I, p. 45.

2. A.N., Vol.I, p. 45.

3. Ibid., Vol.III, p. 626.

4. Afzal Husain, Marriages Among Mughal Nobles as an Index of Status and Aristocratic Integration (paper no.11) Papers on Medieval Indian History, Indian History Congress, Muzaffarpur, 1972, Members, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University; Ibid., Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Session, Muzaffarpur, 1972, pp. 304-309.

5. Ibid., marriage chart, nos. 13, 17.

6. Ibid., no.22, See A.N., Vol.II, p. 48.

for family considerations like those of Salim to the daughter of Mirza Kamran, and wife of Ibrahim Husain Mirza. If these marriages are included in any political analysis the number of Turani wives would be inflated. Similarly the marriages for love like Salim's marriage to Zain Khan's daughter and Akbar's marriage to Abdul Wasi's wife should be distinguished from the matrimonial contacts with the nobles, the gamindars and the rulers.

The marriages of Akbar and his sons during Akbar's reign can be classified as under: ¹

A. For love:

1. Akbar's marriage to the daughter of Abdullah Turk.
2. Akbar's marriage to the wife of Abdul Wasi.
3. Salim's marriage to the daughter of Zain Khan Koka.

B. For family considerations:

4. Akbar's marriage to Saleema Begum, widow of Bairam Khan.
5. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Ibrahim Husain Mirza.
6. Akbar's marriage to Sultan Ruqayyah Begam, daughter of Mirza Hindal.

C. Nobles:

7. Akbar's marriage to the daughter of Qazi Isa.
8. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Khwaja Hasan.
9. Daniyal's marriage to the daughter of Abdur Rahim, Khan Khanan.

1. 1. A.N., Vol.II, p. 57.
 2. Badaoni, vol.II, p.61.
 3. A.N. Vol.III, p.710.
 4. Badaoni, p. 213.
 5. A.N., Vol.III, p.632.
 6. Blochmann, p. 321; Tuzuk, Vol.I, p. 110.
 7. Maasir-ul-Umra, vol. II, p. 383.
 8. Ibid., pp. 1022-23; Maasir Jahangiri, f.10a; A.N., Vol.III, p.568.
 9. A.N., vol. III, p. 801.

Turani:

10. Murad's marriage to the daughter of Aziz Koka.
11. Khusrau's marriage to the daughter of Aziz Koka.
12. Daniyal's marriage to the daughter of Qulij Khan.
13. Daniyal's marriage to the daughter of Sultan Khwaja.

Hindustani:

14. Akbar's marriage to the sister of Shaikh Jamal Bakhtiar.

D. Zamindars, the tribal chiefs and the rulers:RajasthanKachhwahas:

15. Akbar's marriage to the daughter of Bharahmall.
16. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Bhagwant Das.

Rathods:

17. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Rai Singh.
18. Saleem's marriage to the Daughter of Udai Singh.
19. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Keshava Das.
20. Daniyal's marriage to the daughter of Raimal, the son of Maldev.
21. Akbar's marriage to the daughter of Kalhan.

Bhattis:

22. Akbar's marriage to the daughter of Rawal Har Raj.
23. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Rawal Bhim.

Gahlots:

24. Akbar's marriage to the daughter of Askaran, ruler of Dungarpur.

1. (continued)

10. A.N., Vol.III, p. 518.
11. Ibid., p. 806.
12. Ibid., p. 729.
13. Ibid., p. 613.
14. Ibid., p. 469.
15. Ibid., Vol.II, p. 157-158.
16. Ibid., Vol.III, p. 451.
17. Ibid., p. 494.
18. Ibid., pp. 503, 733.
19. Tuzuk, (Rogers & Beveridge), Vol.I, p. 19.
20. A.N., Vol.III, p. 696.
21. Ibid., Vol.II, p. 358.
22. Ibid., also vol. III, p. 200.
23. Tuzuk, vol.I, p. 326, her title was Malika-i-Jahan.
24. A.N., vol. III, pp. 198, 210.

Kashmir:

25. Saleem's marriage to Abhaya's syster.
26. Akbar's marriage to the daughter of Shams Chak.
27. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Mubarak Khan Chak.
28. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Hussain Chak.

Farooqis of Khandesh:

29. Akbar's marriage to the daughter of Miran Mubarak Shah.
30. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Raja Ali Khan.
31. Mured's marriage to the daughter of Bahadur Khan, son of Raja Ali Khan.

Tibbat Khurd:

32. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Ali Rai.

Jammu.

33. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Darya Malbhas.
- 34.

Ghakkars:

34. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Saeed Khan Ghakkar.

Harara:

35. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Mirza Sanjar.

Baluch:

36. Saleem's marriage to the daughter of Abdullah Khan.

Ujjainia:

37. Dayiyal's marriage to the daughter of Dalpat Ujjainia.
38. Deniyal's marriage to the daughter of Adil Shah of Bijapur.

1.(continued).

25. Ibid., p. 609.
26. Ibid., p. 626.
27. Ibid.
28. Beveridge, Akbarnama, vol. III, p. 958.
29. A.N., vol. III, pp. 230-31.
30. Ibid., p. 639.
31. Maasir-i-Bahimi, vol. II, p. 481.
32. A.N., Vol. III, p. 603.
33. Ibid., p. 572.
34. Ibid., p. 494.
35. Ibid., p. 582.
36. Ibid., p. 662.
37. Ibid., p. 826.
38. Ibid., p. 827.

The following are the obvious conclusions on the basis of the above list:

1. For political analysis six marriage contracts, i.e. three for love and three for family considerations, should not be taken into account. The analysis should be based upon the remaining 32 marriages.
2. In contracting marriages, Akbar's main consideration was to secure alliances with the landed aristocracy of India and the tribal chiefs who exercised great power in their respective regions. Out of 32 marriages 24 were contracted with such families.
3. Akbar wanted to ensure that the alliance once contracted should follow in the succeeding generation. He married the daughter of Bharahmall and got his son Saleem married to the daughter of Bhagwant Das, the son of Barahmall. Jahangir took another wife from the Kachhwaha house when Shah Begam, the daughter of Bhagwant Das died. Similarly, this principle was applied to the Farooqis of Khandesh, Chaks of Kashmir, Bhattis of Jaisalmer and the Rathors of Marwar and Bikaner.
4. Rajasthan occupied a significant place in the political planning of Akbar. Out of 24 marriages with the zamindars etc. Rajasthan tops the list for having 10 such alliances. It is followed by Kashmir and Khandesh.

5. Half of the Rajasthani ladies in the imperial harems (wives only) belonged to the Rathor families. This position roughly corresponded to their position and manpower in Rajasthan. During the later half of Akbar's reign the Rathors improved their position. These marriages are a clear index of their rising status and power from one point of view, and their increasing dependence upon the Mughals and their loss of freedom, from another.

6. The marriages were a mark of submission on the part of the bride's family. A Dutch chronicler has also testified it. He says, 'Every heathen Raja who had a daughter gave her to the king in marriage as a pledge of submission'.¹ In 1578, Akbar offered to accept Mirza Hakim's daughter in marriage to his young son, Saleem. The acceptance of Akbar's proposal would have meant the acceptance of Akbar's suzerainty and, therefore, the Mirza rejected Akbar's offer.² It is significant that Akbar did not offer any of his daughters in marriage to Kaiqubad, the young son of Mirza Hakim.

Akbar's matrimonial alliances indicate the extent of his influence in a particular region. The absence of such alliances with Orcha, Bandugarh, Bundi, Mewar and the kingdoms of Himachal and Kumaon indicates that Akbar's control over them was not effective.

1. A contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, p. 21.

2. A.N., Vol. III, p. 245.

7. The Rajas of the eastern provinces were not considered of a high and noble status to deserve matrimonial alliance with the imperial family. Dalpat Ujjainia is an exception.
8. The marriages of Akbar and his sons to the daughters of the nobles of Irani, Turani and Hindustani origin do not reflect their power and position. The Irani and Turani nobles held the highest mansabs and the coveted positions in the empire, but their representation in the imperial harems was very little. Any attempt to determine their position on the basis of marriages can be misleading. Akbar distinguished some of his nobles by taking their daughters in the imperial harems.
9. The Afghans and the non-Rajput Hindus are conspicuous by their absence in the scheme of Akbar's matrimonial alliances. The reasons are not far to seek. The Afghans were generally hostile and the non-Rajput Hindus had no effective local power.
10. Saleem being the eldest son of Akbar, was looked upon as the future emperor and was, therefore, most sought after for matrimonial alliances. Out of 38 ladies married in the royal family, 17 were married to Saleem, 12 to Akbar, 6 to Daniyal, 2 to Murad and 1 to Khusrau.
11. Akbar's matrimonial alliances were fairly extensive. The imperial harem included ladies from various regions and families, like the Rathors, the Kachhwahas, the Bhattis, the Gahlots, the Chaks, the Chakkars, the Hazaras, the Baluchis, the Farooqis, the Adil Shahis, the Ujjainias,

the Turanis, the Hindustanis and also from Tibbet Khurd and Jammu.

Too much importance has been given by some scholars to Akbar's matrimonial alliances. Afzal has ascribed the rise of the Kachhwahas to the marriage of Bharamall's daughter with Akbar in 1562. He adds that the example of the Kachhwahas was followed by other chieftains of Rajasthan and through matrimonial alliances they 'gained mansabs, assignment of jagirs and special status at the court.'¹ This kind of generalisation is not proper. The matrimonial alliances did provide opportunities to the Rajput chiefs and their relatives to get entry into the imperial services and some privileges in the case of a few members, but there were diverse factors for the rise of some of them. A study of the Ain's mansabdars would reveal that the chances of gaining 'mansab, assignment of jagirs and special status at the court' were almost equal for the Rajputs who gave their daughters in marriage to the royal family and for those who did not. For example, Rai Surjan Hada, Ram Chand Bhagela, Rai Durga Das who did not enter into matrimonial alliances had higher ranks than Udai Singh of Marwar, Rawal Bhim of Jaisalmer and Keshava Das whose daughters were in the imperial harem. Similarly there were many in-laws of the emperor like Askara of Dungarpur and Kahan Rathor who do not find place in Abul Fazl's list of mansabdars.² Moreover, the rise of the Kachhwahas only began after they had proved their mettle. Afzal has also cited the cases of Rustam Qandhari, Mirza Musaffar Husain Safavi,

1. Afzal Husain, op. cit.

2. Blochmann, pp. 320-596.

Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Shahrukh 'who rose to prominence because of their matrimonial relations with the royal family.'¹ This statement is like putting the cart before the horse. One does not have to be told that the persons mentioned above acquired the highest ranks at their arrival at the court on account of their blue blood and 'noble' lineage. No doubt the matrimonial alliance with the emperor strengthened their position. Similarly, Bhargava's contention that the matrimonial alliances 'brought about a complete revolution in the Muslim monarchy' does not reflect mature thinking on the part of the learned author. 'The blending of the two cultures (as if there were only two cultures and that they were blended) in the reign of Akbar' was a result of several diverse factors and these marriages were only one of them. Bhargava further ascribes the meeting of Hindu and Muslim nobles at the imperial court and the camp to these marriages.² It may be submitted that the meeting of Hindu and Muslim nobles in the court and the camp was equally frequent in the reign of Shahjahan although he, as a ruler, did not take any Rajput brides for himself or his sons and grandsons.³

The matrimonial alliances have a special significance in the reign of Akbar because the process of conquest and consolidation continued throughout his reign, but once the Mughal rule was firmly established these alliances, particularly with the landed aristocracy and the tribal chiefs, paled into insignificance as an instrument of politics.

1. Afzal Husain, op. cit.

2. V.S. Bhargava, Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, p. 196.

3. Afzal Husain, op. cit.

We know for certain that the medieval rulers did not want their provincial representatives to acquire local influence. The matrimonial alliances could strengthen the position of a governor, or any other officer for that matter, in or outside the province.

Alauddin had ordered that the nobles should seek the royal sanction before entering into matrimonial relations with other nobles. Sher Shah had considered the marriage of his governor of Bengal in the

family of the ex-king of Bengal an act of rebellion. However, it is interesting to note that Raja Man Singh as governor of Bengal and Bihar had entered into matrimonial alliances with the local

zamindars as a political settlement with them. In 1590, Puranmall the Raja of Gidhaur, submitted to Man Singh, the then governor of

Bihar. Among other things he gave his daughter in marriage to the governor's brother, Chander Bhan.¹ Similarly in 1597, a sister of Laxmi Narayan, the ruler of Cooch Bihar was married to Man Singh, who was the governor of Bengal at that time. His motive was to secure his help against his uncle who was contesting his succession to the gaddi of Cooch Bihar with the help of the Afghans.² It appears that Man Singh was following the policy of Akbar at a provincial level, but unlike his master who married both Hindu and Muslim ladies, Man Singh married the daughters of Hindu Rajas only, although he had made similar political settlements with the Afghans of North west Frontier, Afghanistan, Orissa and Bengal. This could be because of Man Singh's personal orthodoxy, or fear of Muslim sentiments or both.

1. A.N., vol. III, p. 576.

2. Ibid., p. 716.

Akbar's matrimonial alliances have been a subject of great controversy. They are symbolised with Rajputs degradation and utter humiliation - whereas the contemporary opinion take such alliances as normal. In which it is evident from the fact that the Kachhwaha rulers who were the first to give their daughters in marriage to the Mughals, did not lose their social status and continued to receive the brides for their chiefs from almost all the major major clans of the Rajputs. From Bharahmall (1547) to Mirza Raja Jai Singh (1667) the rulers of Amber took wives from the following.¹

- a. Rathod - 5
- b. Hadas - 12
- c. Parihar-5
- d. Bargujar-4
- e. Sisodia-3
- f. Panwar- 3
- g. Bhati - 3
- h. Yadav - 1
- i. Gahlot- 1
- j. Harihans- 1
- k. Meenas - 1
- l. Jat - 1
- m. Misl. - 17

Note: Above study include alliances of Akbar's reign only.

1. S.Inayat Ali Zaidi, Pattern of Matrimonial Ties Between the Kachhwahas dan and the Mughal Ruling Family. Proc. INC,1974, pp. 131-143.

CHAPTER VII

RATIONALISATION OF RAJPUT MANSAB UNDER
JAHANGIR

Hindu participation at the top in the Mughal military and civil administration under Akbar is more an image than a reality. But the image has left such a powerful impression on the minds of successive generations of Indians that Akbar is regarded as one of the greatest Indian rulers. The large number of Hindu Officers under Akbar are an insignificant minority if compared to their Muslim counterparts. Hindu officers of Akbar did not represent a cross section of Hindu society, but the preponderance of the Kachhwahas. Ain's list of mansabdars, though incomplete, can be a sound basis of any rational discussion on the mansab position in 1595. Among the mansabdars who were living in 1595 and held a rank of 500 or above, there was one group i.e. Kachhwahas who held about 60 percent of the Rajput mansab while 40 percent were shared by the rest of Rajputs.¹ The Kachhwahas

1. <u>Kachhwahas</u>		<u>Non-Kachhwaha Rajputs</u>	
1. Man Singh	5000	1. Rai Rai Singh	4000
2. Jagannath	2500	2. Rai Durga Das	1500
3. Madhava Singh	1500	3. Udai Singh	1000
4. Raisal	1250	4. Rai Bhoj	900
5. Jagat Singh	900	5. Rawal Bhim.	500
6. Raj Singh	900	6. Ram Chand Bundela	500
7. Ram Das	500	7. Daleep or Dalpat	500
8. Arjun Singh	500		<u>8,900</u>
9. Sabal Singh	<u>500</u>		
	<u>13,550</u>		

continued to improve their position and by the end of Akbar's reign pocketed about 69 percent of the total mansabs granted to the landed aristocracy in the Mughal empire.¹ The contrast is even greater if their position is compared with other major houses of Rajasthan. At the time of Akbar's death they held 77.80 percent mansabs given to the Rajputs of Rajasthan. The Rathods had to be content with 11.75 percent, Sisodias with 3.92 percent, Bhatias with 1.31 percent, Hadas with 2.61 percent and others with 2.61 percent. The Kachhwaha monopoly was not limited to the distribution of mansabs but also in the assignment of military commands and civil assignments. Except Todarmal all the important commanders, governors and members of the select committees were Kachhwahas. If the family of Bharahmall is excluded from the list of Akbar's officers, there is hardly any difference between his government and those of Mohd. Bin Tughlaq and Sher Shah.

The glaring disparity in the distribution of mansabs and positions of power under Akbar could not escape the notice of the shrewd, prudent and just monarch. Akbar's reign is a period of the initiation and growth of Mughal institutions. His relations with each Rajput kingdom developed in their own way. The Mughal control over the rajag of Himachal, Garhwal, Kamaon, Vindhayas was just nominal. Mewar remained at war with the Mughal empire throughout Akbar's reign. Rathods of Jodhpur branch did not surrender totally as long as Chandersen lived. The Kachhwahas

1. For statistical references here and hereafter see the appendix A entitled comparative Table of Rajput Mansabdars.

See also Tables/Figures: A, B, C, D, E/ 1,2,3,4, appended at the end of the chapter.

were the only group who remained steadfast in their loyalty to Akbar and sure enough received rewarding patronage of the emperor. Let us examine briefly the circumstance of the major Rajput kingdom's submission to the Mughals and the nature of their relationship as it developed with the Mughal empire.

RAJASTHAN

Jodhpur.

Maldev was perhaps one of the mightiest of the rulers produced by Rajasthan. The powerful desert king had at one time ruled supreme. Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Mewar, Bundi, Shailhawati and other minor kingdoms lay prostrate at his mercy. He was, however, completely humbled by Sher Shah. The Afghan Empire soon faded into history but Maldev could never regain the lost prestige. Soon after the second battle of Panipat the Mughals launched an offensive against the Rathods. Ajmer, the heart of Rajasthan was occupied in 1557 and Merta in 1562. Maldev died in November 1562 and left his kingdom to his sixth son Chandersen born to his favourite wife. The eldest, Ram Singh, obviously annoyed at the gross violation of his natural right to gaddi of Jodhpur went over to the Mughals.

Jodhpur was occupied by the Mughals and Ram Singh was recognised as Maldev's successor with Sajat as his headquarters. Thus in early 1563 Jodhpur proper came into Mughal possession and the Rathod ruler recognised Akbar's suzerainty.¹ Akbar's control

1. A.H., Vol. II, pp. 195-196; Nizamuddin Vol. II, pp. 164-165; Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 57-59; Firishta, Vol. I, p. 253.

over Marwar was far from complete. Chandersen was pain in the neck for the ruling Rathod family and also the Mughal governor of Ajmer. Ram Singh however continued to serve the Mughals faithfully. He along with Rai Rai Singh of Bikaner, who also held a temporary charge of Jodhpur, persued, fought and defeated Ibrahim Husain Mirza, a rebel from Gujarat in 1573.¹ Chandersen died in 1581 and thereafter there was no opposition to the Mughal rule in Marwar. In 1583 Udai Singh also known as Mota Raja was recognised as the ruler of Marwar. All the territory which formerly belonged to Maldev, except Ajmer was restored to him. The choice of the king now rested with the Mughal emperor and not the Rathod nobility. Conditions of service were the same as those of the Kachhwahas. His daughter, who later became the mother of the future emperor Shahjahan, was married to Saleem in 1586. He served the empire in Gujarat with the Rathod forces. He was given a mansab of 1000. In area, resourcefulness and prestige, the Rathods were head and shoulders above the Kachhwahas but their position viewed against their prestige was perhaps the lowest in the imperial court among the major Rajput houses of Rajasthan. Udai Singh, and after his death in 1595 his son Suraj Singh who is said to have attained the rank of 2000, served in Gujarat and the Deccan, were never given any position of power and authority during the reign of Akbar. Their position and rank was even lower than that of the ruler of Bikaner which was formerly a vassal kingdom of Jodhpur.

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 34-36; Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 149-150; Nizamuddin, Vol. II, pp. 253-255.

Perhaps their power, numbers, resourcefulness and prestige were the considerations resulting in their poor status in the Mughal Court. Ram Singh and Udai Singh were the sons of the same Maldev who once threatened Sher Shah, the destroyer of the Mughal empire in India. Akbar, therefore, seems to have been very careful, in respect of the Rathods of Jodhpur, in giving them status and authority. This also explains Akbar's tough line against Mewar, another powerful kingdom of Rajasthan. The young prince Amar Singh was casually treated by Akbar and he had to return disappointed from Fatehpur Sikri in 1573.¹

Akbar founded the empire, Jahangir inherited it and therefore the latter could dispense with 'caution' which was characteristic of Akbar. In the third year of his reign Jahangir gave a rank of 3000/2000 to Suraj Singh which was raised to 4000/2000 the following year. In the ninth year he was given the highest rank 5000/3000. Thus the Rathods of Jodhpur acquired though not too late the first rate status along with the Kachhwahas. The importance of the house of Jodhpur was firmly impressed on the mind of Jahangir. After Suraj Singh's death his son Gaj Singh was given a rank of 3000/2000 which was increased to 4000/3000 the following year. He finally got the highest rank of 5000/5000 before Jahangir died. Jahangir recognised the prestige and resourcefulness of the rulers of Jodhpur and gave them the same status as that of Amber or Mewar.

1. Akbar was very clear in his mind about the two most powerful states of Rajasthan, Mewar and Marwar. Their extraordinary capacity of leadership and survival against heavy odds has been witnessed not long ago. Rana Sangram Singh had mobilised the total resources of Rajasthan against Babar and Maldev a contemporary of Akbar had made himself master of Rajasthan not long ago. Chandersen son of Maldev visited Akbar in 1570. Akbar's tough line about the restoration of Jodhpur drove him into rebellion. Akbar's insistence on the attendance of Rana Pratap in the court and his scant regard to Amar Singh's visit to the court drove Pratap to a policy of armed resistance. Akbar therefore kept the two kingdoms at a lower level.

Jahangir had scant regard for the territorial integrity and practice of succession of the vassal kingdom. In case of Amber and Bikaner he did not care about the succession rule or the sentiments of the deceased ruler. He carved out a new zamindari from the former Marwar kingdom and bestowed it upon the ruler's brother Kishan Singh who was uterine brother of his wife Jagat Gosain, mother of prince Khurram. This obviously was to please one of his beloved wives.¹

BIKANER.

Bikaner was an off-shoot of Jodhpur, founded by Bika son of Jodha in 1459 but Jodhpur which was also built about the same time never relinquished its title of suzerainty over Bikaner. It was to assert the supremacy of Jodhpur that Maldev attacked Bikaner and drove its ruler Kalyanmal into exile. However, with Sher Shah's help Kalyanmal recovered his patrimony. Kalyanmal lived in peace under the patronage of the Afghans but the Mughal reoccupation changed the situation. Kalyanmal must have spent anxious years when Akbar's generals were occupying, one after the other, towns of Marwar. After the suppression of the Uzbek revolt Akbar changed his strategy. He attacked the wellknown family - Sisodias, and the strongest of Indian forts - Chittor. In 1568 Chittor had fallen but contrary to Akbar's expectations the Rajputs did not rush to offer submission.

1. Tuzuk, Vol. I, pp. 128, 151, 260, 281, 293.

Kishan Singh enjoyed a high rank of 3000 but his sons could not attain high status. Kishangarh was allowed to go into oblivion in the politics of power.

It was only in 1570 when Akbar prolonged his stay at Nagour that that they had to chose between war and submission. Except for the Rana of Me^wwar, they chose submission. Kalyanmal came along with his son Rai Rai Singh, waited upon Akbar at Nagaur and gave his brother, Kalhan's daughter in marriage to Akbar. Rai Singh joined imperial service. Rai Singh became the ruler of Bikaner in 1571 when his father died. Rai Singh served the emperor with distinction in Gujarat, Sind, Deccan and also against Chandersen of Jodhpur, Surtan Deora of Sirahi and Bir Singh Bundela. In 1586 Rai Singh's daughter was married to Sultan Saleem. Akbar gave him a rank of 4000. He was the only non-Kachhwaha Rajput who held such a high rank under Akbar. Jahangir after ascending the throne literally granted promotions. Rai Rai Singh also received the highest rank of 5000.

Promotion of Bikaner to such immense by Akbar was again a part of his effort to reduce the stature of Jodhpur. After the death of Rai Rai Singh, Jahangir did not find any reason to keep Bikaner at par with Jodhpur or Amber. Daleep Singh and Suraj Singh his successors were given due respect but Rai Suraj Singh could not attain a rank higher than 3000.¹ We thus find that under Jahangir

1. Rai Rai Singh was Jahangir's father-in-law. In his attempt to get the throne of Agra in the life time of his father Jahangir had tried to win over the support of Rai Singh. But the clever Rajput kept himself aloof from the succession politics. Jahangir at his accession increased his rank to 5000. Jahangir's relations with Rai Singh were rather unhappy. After the death of the Rai, his son Dalpat or Daleep was given tika and a rank of 1500 which was increased to 2000 the next year. Dalpat rebelled and was executed. His successor Suraj Singh got a rank of 1000 which was raised to 1500 after a few years. His further promotions were painfully slow and it was only in the last year of Jahangir's reign that he got a rank of 3000. Jahangir's farman, in the State Archives, Bikaner.

Bikaner was axed and reduced to its historical stature in conformity with its size and resources. To further reduce the stature of the ruler of Jodhpur Akbar gave independent mansabs to Rathod Sardars, a policy which he also applied to Kachhwaha sardars. The Rathods of Jaitawat and Kumpawat clans were given mansabs and allotted agirs in Marwar itself. Jaimal's son, Keshav Das was also given an independant mansab and Merta in agir. Jahangir allowed this policy to lapse after the death of Keshav Das.¹

Any alliance with the Rajputs would have been incomplete without the Rathods. Akbar while reduced the stature of Jodhpur recognised the importance of the Rathods. Among the mansabs allotted to the landed aristocracy the Rathods held 25 percent in 1595. They maintained more or less similar position till the sixteenth year of Jahangir's reign when the Marathas started making a big dent in the Rajput monopoly of mansabs.²

A comparison of the mansabs of the heads of Rathod kingdoms would reveal that Jodhpur attained the first rate status under Jahangir. Udai Singh, under Akbar, had a rank of 1000. Whereas Jahangir gave a rank of 5000/5000 to Gaj Singh.³ Jahangir also

1. A detailed discussion on the nature of changes in the character of Rathod nobility after their submission to the Mughals can be read in G.D. Sharma, Rajput Polity, pp. 25-36.

2. See table C & D/Figure 364.

It may be noted that the table do not show a correct position of Rathod mansabs in the following years (1) Death of Akbar (2) Jahangir's first and second regnal years, because the mansab of Suraj Singh is not included as there is no reliable information of his exact mansab. However, Rajput historians believe that he was given a mansab of 2000. This may be added to ascertain the Rathod mansab position.

3. See Table A/ Figure 1.

gave the title of Maharaja to the ruler of Jodhpur. Jahangir thus laid the foundation of the future greatness of the house of Jodhpur under Jaswant Singh and his successors.

Mewar.

Jagmal and Shakti, Rana Pratap's brothers had joined the court of Akbar. There were many more who could be induced to join, but Akbar refrained from such a policy. Except for Rai Durga who was not directly related to Pratap he did not create any amir from Sisodia clan. Sisodia's under the leadership of Pratap continued to defy the Mughal authority. Akbar had to send expeditions after expeditions, throughout his reign. Jahangir also opened his reign with Mewar campaign. He increased the rank of Rai Durga to 4000, and gave a high rank of 2500/1000 to Shankar, another son of Rana Udai Singh in the second year of his reign. This was unusually a high rank for a beginner. Jahangir, thus, acknowledged the importance of the house of Mewar. When Rai Durga died his son, Rai Chand was given a rank of 700. Eventually after the submission of Amar Singh and the award of 5000/5000 mansab to Karan Singh, Shankar continued to hold his mansab. In fact after the peace with Mewar his rank was increased to 3000/2000. After his death his son Man Singh Sisodia got a rank of 1000/600. Like Jodhpur, Mewar was also allowed to tower over every one else in Mewar. The successors of Rai Durga and Rana Shankar were given low ranks.

Jahangir's treatment of the vanquished enemy - the Ranas of Mewar is widely acclaimed. Karan Singh was admitted among the Umra-i-kabar with great fanfare. What the rulers of Jodhpur and Amber got the hard way, through service and sacrifice, Mewar opened

its innings with the same rank. Extremely favourable and honourable terms were offered to Mewar, a befitting reward for the great sacrifice and privations of Rana Pratap and his equally great son Amar Singh. Mewar got its rightful place among the princes of Rajasthan.

Bundi.

The Hada Chohans had submitted to Akbar after the fall of Chittor. Its ruler Rai Bhoj had a rank of 1000 at the time of Akbar's death.¹ As compared to the major kingdoms of Rajasthan it had meagre resources but Jahangir gave high ranks of 5000 to its ruler Rai Ratan Sarbuland on account of his merit and loyalty. The award of 5000 to Rai Ratan was a rude reminder to the ruling houses of Rajasthan that the former relationship had ceased and a new system with Mughal emperor as a supreme arbitrator and lord had come to stay. The ruler of Bundi, once a dependancy of Mewar, now enjoyed the same ranks as that of the prince of Mewar, Karan Singh. Obviously it was the Mughal emperor who determined the status of his vassals and allies.

While the rank of Rai Ratan was raised to the level of Mewar, the kingdom suffered a setback. A new altanqha grant of Kota, an important town of Bundi, to Madhave Singh son of Rai Ratan reduced the size of the former kingdom. Creation of the independent

1. Rai Bhoj's daughter was married to Jagat Singh, son of Man Singh of Amber. Jahangir had married Man Singh's sister. She died in 1605. In 1608 Jahangir asked for the hand of Jagat Singh's daughter. Rai Bhoj openly expressed his disapproval of this marriage. Opposition to Jahangir's proposal finally led him to commit suicide.

zamindari within the confines of former Bundi kingdom created problems to the future kings.

The rulers of Bundi and Kota enjoyed a special status and were free from the obligation of giving dola. The Hadas served the empire with distinction and there existed a bond of affection between the Hadas and the emperor.

Jaisalmer.

Jaisalmer was another important kingdom of Rajasthan. It was founded in 1156 by a tribe known as Bhati. Rawal Har Rai - its ruler submitted to Akbar in 1570 and gave his daughter in marriage to him¹ and later his grand daughter was married to Saleem.² Akbar gave a mansab of 500 to Rawal Bhim.³ Jahangir did not increase his mansab on his accession, however, after Bhim's death his son Rawal Kalyan was given a rank of 2000,⁴ in the eleventh year. Kalyan had to be content with this rank which was not increased throughout Jahangir's reign. Thus Jaisalmer did not occupy a position of importance in Jahangir's political planning. As compared to other Rajput clans the Bhatias lost considerably

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 358.

2. Tuzuk, Vol. II, p. 326.

3. Ain.

4. Tuzuk, Vol. I, p. 333.

In 1595 they had a mansab share of 2.3 percent which ^{was} reduced to 1.2 percent in 1605 and this position continued till Jahangir raised the mansab of Kalyan to 2000. This kingdom did not play any significant role during the period of our study.

Amber.

A glance at Table E would reveal that the Kachhwahas occupied a domineering position in the Akbar's time and during the later part of his reign they became very important. In 1595, they monopolised about 60 percent of the total mansabs awarded to the Rajput mansabdars. They further improved their position towards the end of Akbar's reign. Man Singh, the chief of Amber got an unusually high rank of 7000/6000 which was till then reserved for the princes of royal blood. On the basis of the pat mansabs of 500 and above it is found that they shared between themselves about 30,000 imperial mansabs at the time of Akbar's death. This fantastic accumulation of mansab in one group had no precedent in Akbar's reign. The Kachhwahas who were a small minority in Rajasthan monopolised 78 percent of the total pat mansabs given to the Rajput nobles connected with Rajasthan. The Kachhwahas acquired rich jagirs all over India corresponding to their talab while the rest of the Rajputs of Rajasthan who had allied themselves to the 'eternal throne' had to be content with the remaining 22 percent. Akbar's patronage to one family was not only with regard to the awards of the mansabs but it was also evident in the distribution of the great offices and leadership of military campaigns. The Kachhwahas alone were given higher posts.

Akbar's policy of patronising the Kachhwahas alone and extending the benefits of his liberalism to a single family was not only irrational and unjust but it was also unimaginative and dangerous. Any emperor who was not emotionally attached to the Kachhwahas, as Akbar was, could not permit the domination of this group. Jahangir also had a very special and close relationship with the Kachhwaha family. He has described his relations with them with great emotions.¹ The first woman in his life was a Kachhwaha princess, sister of Man Singh who became the mother of Jahangir's first born daughter Sultaan-un-nisa and his eldest son Khusrav.² Jahangir was very fond of several Kachhwaha princes including Man Singh's son, Bhas Singh. Jahangir's relations with them, however, did not come in the way of rationalisation of Rajput mansabs. Jahangir did not radically change the policies and personnel of his father's times but he adopted a considered policy of breaking the monopoly of the Kachhwahas specially of the Rajawat branch.³ He brought about a decrease of 10 percent in the mansabs of the Kachhwahas by promoting the Rathors and the Sisodias. Among the Kachhwahas the ranks of Non-Rajawats were also increased. His policy of breaking the Rajawat monopoly was slow but definite. In the seventh year of Jahangir's reign the mansab position of the Rajawats further declined

1. Tuzuk, Vol. I, pp. 15, 16, 29, 56 etc.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 266; Vol. II, 218-19.

3. Man Singh's opposition to his succession must have been an eye opener for him.

from 22500 to 18000 while the non-Rajawats improved their position by 1000 that is from 6000 to 7000. In terms of percentage the net Kachhwaha decline was 7 percent. The decrease in the percentage was largely achieved by award of smaller mansabs to the successors of the Kachhwaha leaders who had died during this period and also by increasing the ranks of other Rajputs like the Rathors and the Hadas. Jahangir's policy of rationalisation of mansabs among the Rajputs was fully achieved in the fifteenth year.¹ The Kachhwahas were brought almost at par with the major families of Rajasthan. The Kachhwahas and the Sisodias had about 25 percent each of the mansabs given to the Rajput families of Rajasthan while the Rathors had about 31 percent, the remaining 19 percent were shared by the Bhattis and the Hadas. More or less similar trend continued till the end of Jahangir's reign. In the twentysecond year of Jahangir's reign the Kachhwahas and the Hadas slightly improved their position by an increase of 4 percent. The Rathors got an increase of one percent while the Bhattis remained almost at the same level. The Sisodias lost considerably on account of the death of Durga Das and Rana Shankar. Their percentage fell from 24.74 percent to 17.54 percent at the death of Jahangir.

Another significant feature of Jahangir's reign is the reversal of Akbar's policy of creating several Rajput mansabdars in a group or a region who by virtue of their mansab acquired a

1. It is surprising that while Jahangir rationalised the mansabs of the Rajput princes he gave extraordinary power and position to an Iranian family i.e. the family of Nurjahan.

status independent of their chiefs. They could retain this newly acquired status at the pleasure of the emperor. Amongst the Kachhwahas he granted mansabs to the gamindars of Narwar, Deosa, Khandela, Sambhar etc. and also to several members of the family of Man Singh with the result that the authority of the chiefs was considerably reduced. The lack of enthusiasm on the part of Rajawats and the opposition by the non-Rajawats Kachhwahas to Man Singh's stand on the issue of succession at the time of Akbar's fatal illness was evidently an outcome of this policy. During the reign of Jahangir the Rajput chiefs were relegated to secondary positions and were deprived of the charge of provinces and important military commands, further dilution of their power was not considered advisable. All the non-Rajawat Kachhwaha families whose combined mansab were to the tune of 21 percent of the Kachhwaha mansabs in the first year of Jahangir's reign went into obscurity by the end of his reign. Similarly in Mewar while the chief was fighting against the Mughals, the Sisodias allied to the Mughals had a combined mansab strength of 4000 in the first year and 3200 in the seventh year of Jahangir's reign. After the submission of Amar Singh and the award of a rank of 5000 to Karn Singh, the mansabs of the family of Rana Shankar and Durga Das came down to 2200 which were further reduced to 1400 towards the end of Jahangir's reign. It can thus be concluded that the chiefs of the major houses of Rajasthan consolidated their position at home in the reign of Jahangir. The emergence of the powerful Rajput chiefs like Jaswant Singh, Jai Singh and Raj Singh during the reigns of Jahangir's successors was a direct outcome of this policy.

The Himalyan range from Jammu to Kamaon and the hilly central India had their own political system. Powerful kingdoms were established in Delhi and Agra which had little impact on the hilly kingdoms. Occassional submission under duress for a very short period of one or the other kingdom is observed during the Sultanat period. Expeditions were sent to hunt down the political adversaries who sought assylum in the safety of hills with the hospitable rulers of the hill kingdoms. There were about two dozen minor and major kingdoms. Kangra, Kamaon, and Garhwal in the north and Orcha and Bandugari in central India deserve special mention.

Kangra in the north eastern hills in the Himachal remained practically as independant kingdom till 1620. Pursuit of Sikandar Sur brought the Mughal forces in the Kangra valley in the year 1556. The fortress of Dhanri was occupied by the Mughals. Many gamindars and rulers of the hill including Raja Dharam Chand of Nagarkot (Kangra) offered submission.¹ The Mughal control over the hill kingdoms did not last long. Husain Quli Khan, governor of the Punjab launched a campaign in the hills in 1572, greater part of Himachal was over run and many forts were occupied. Ruler of Kangra also made a formal submission but the advent of the rebel Mirzas in the Punjab obliged Husain Quli to withdraw from the hills leaving his campaign inconclusive. It was only in Jahangir's reign in 1620 that the hill country became a part of the Mughal empire but the rulers of Kangra were not enrolled among mansabdars.

1. A.N., Vol. II, pp. 19-20.

Kamaon and Garhwal were quite powerful kingdoms in modern Uttar Pradesh, Garhwal was absorbed in the imperial political system during Shahjahan's reign but Kamaon surrendered under Akbar in 1589. Towards the end of the same year several rajas of the Shivalik, salt ranges and Himachal made a formal submission by personally attending the court. They agreed to pay the fixed revenue,¹ but unlike the princes of Rajasthan were not called upon to join military service on a regular basis. Raja Basu of Mau who held a rank of 1500 was an exception. In his case also it must be kept in mind that he was a rebel in the eyes of Akbar and he held the rank as a partisan of prince Saleem. In fact at one stage Akbar had ordered Madhava Singh to arrest him but he escaped.² As a partisan of Jahangir the absconder Basu enjoyed a position of privilege in his court. Besides being entrusted with the prestigious command against Rana Amar Singh his rank which was raised to 3500 in the first year of Jahangir's reign. It was further raised to 4000 in the sixth year. Basu held the high rank on account of his special relations with the emperor going back to his princehood days. Basu's son and successor Surajmal was given a rank of 2000 and his brother who succeeded him slowly attained the rank of 3000. Jahangir further extended mansabs to the rulers of Jammu, Gwalyer and Manjholi. Debi Chand and Reep Chand of Gwalyer had ranks of 1500 and 1000 respectively. Sangram of Jammu was initially given a rank of 1000 which was raised to 1500 in the sixteenth year. Another Raja Man of Himachal held a rank of 1000. Thus we find that under Jahangir the policy of

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 584-85.

2. Ibid., p. 833.

involving the gamindars into the imperial service by assigning them mansabs was extended to the Himalayan kingdoms also, which was practically limited to Rajasthan under Akbar.

The gamindar of Bihar, Bengal and Gujarat did not acquire important status. They were dealt with by the provincial governors and supplied a fixed quota of cavalry and infantry to the government. The three kingdoms of Central India - Orchha, Bandugarh and Baglana were considered important and Akbar had tried to bring them under his political system. After ~~repeated~~ attempts towards reassertion of independence the rulers of Orchha finally reconciled to the Mughal suzerainty. Towards the last phase of Akbar's reign its ruler Ram Chand was given a rank of 500. Ram Chand's brother Bir Singh allied himself with the rebel prince, Saleem and at his instigation murdered Abul Fazl which highly enraged the emperor who ordered an all out effort to hunt him down. He, however, managed to play hide and seek with the Mughal forces till his master came to power. He was immediately raised to a rank of 3000 and soon got the highest mansab of 5000. His brother Ram Chand continued to hold the rank of 500 given to him by Akbar. Other members of the Bundela family got varying ranks. Thus atleast in the reign of Jahangir Orchha got a status at par with Mewar, Marwar, Amber, and Bundi.

Bandhugarh was a large and prosperous state. Under Akbar Ram Chand Baghela avoided to wait upon the emperor but finally he had to yield. The family was connected with the Rathors of Bikaner by marriage. Under the reign of Akbar and Jahangirs it remained

loyal but unlike the states of Rajasthan it did not become an integral part of the empire.

Pratap Bharjiv the ruler of Baglana joined the Mughals after 1595 and waited upon the emperor. He received a rank of 3000. In Akbar's time minor ranks were given to the rulers other than those of Rajasthan. Award of mansab of 3000 to Pratap Bharjiv is ~~the~~ clearly related ~~example~~ to the growing interest the emperor in the affairs of the Deccan.

In the sixteenth year the Rajput monopoly of mansab was completely broken by inducting the Dakkhanis particularly the Marathas on a massive scale. A modest beginning was made in the 12th year. Pratap, the ruler of Baglana (Khandesh) who already had a mansab of 3000 from Akbar's time was given a rise of 1000, raising his mansab to 4000. Raja Bhim Narain another samindar of Khandesh, of Gadhi was enrolled among the mansabdars by giving him the rank of 1000/500. Udaiji Ram, a Brahman samindar of the Deccan was given a unusually high rank of 3000/1500. Thus we see that in the 12th year Jahangir carried the logic of awarding mansabs to the landed aristocracy to the Deccan as well. Shahjahan's march of 1617 to the Deccan coincides with the grants of these mansabs. As Jahangir's stakes in the Deccan increased, he tried to win over the local sardars. In 1621 a large force under Shahjahan was again sent to the Deccan which ultimately ended up in Shahjahan's rebellion. The sending of this expedition also coincides with another raise of Maratha mansab. Jadun Rai Kaeth was promoted to 5000/5000 and several

of his relations were employed in the imperial service and were offered mansabs totalling 19000/10000. The award of high mansabs to Dakhanis completely changed the complexion of the Mughal nobility and set a trend wherein large Tankhwahi jagirs were allotted to the former servants of Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bijapur kingdoms which ultimately resulted in the crises of jagirdari system which finally brought down the heavy imperial structure, giving way to new aspirants to political power.

The zamindars and the tribal chiefs had an important place in the political structure of the country. The Jata'dari and zamindari systems worked in close cooperation during the Sultanat period but Akbar adopted a new policy of inducting them into the nobility and by making them an integral part of his political system. Akbar's attempts towards this end were limited and were, rather of experimental nature. He began with giving employment and mansabs to the Kachhwahas and later extended, very cautiously, to other ruling families of Rajasthan and to some unattached Rajput professional soldiers. Very few non-Rajasthani landed elements found favour with the emperor. With the expansion of the empire Akbar gradually offered mansabs to the Rajputs of other regions also but their number was negligible. At the death of Akbar, Rajputs of Rajasthan had a lion's share of the mansabs, pocketing 38300 of the total of 42800¹ given to the landed elements which

1. These and the preceding and the following figures take care of only those mansabdars who had ranks of 500 sat and above and were alive and active in service in the year referred to, and were either Rajputs or were connected with zamindar families.

comes to almost 90 percent. Akbar's policy of recruiting the Rajputs and similar elements in the imperial service was extended to its logical end by his successors. With the inclusion of the Marathas, the Dakhanis, the Bundelas and other rulers like those of Mau/Nurpur, Manjholi, Gwalier, Jammu etc. the mansabs of such groups almost doubled by the end of Jahangir's reign.

The first year of Jahangir's reign the Rajputs of Rajasthan had a share of 42,000 sat rank out of a total of 52,500 i.e. eighty percent granted to the landed aristocracy of India. Contrary to the general trend the Rajasthan share rose to 42,200 out of 51700 i.e. 81.62 percent in the seventh year. The trend of decreasing share of mansabs of the princes of Rajasthan continued throughout the reign of Jahangir and in the fifteenth year their share went down to 29100 out of 49000 i.e. 59.38 percent. Their share of the mansabs touched the lowest in the last years of Jahangir. Out of 82000 they had only 32200 i.e. 39.26 percent in the twentysecond year of Jahangir's reign. Thus Rajasthan which occupied a position of eminence in the reign of Akbar was relegated to a secondary position by the end of Jahangir's reign and the inclusion of the Marathas in sizable number in the last years of Jahangir was a pointer towards the future direction of Mughal policies. Jahangir's policy of rationalisation of mansabs was also at work in the distribution of mansabs to the zamindars of various regions and by the end of his reign the hegemony of the princes of Rajasthan was broken.

Another significant feature of Jahangir's reign is the general fall in the mansabs of the Rajputs. Jahangir bestowed mansabs most liberally and to the total mansabs went up by many times but

the share of the Rajputs did not increase proportionally. The percentage of Rajput mansabs were much lower in the reign of Jahangir as compared with their position in the reign of Akbar.

The reign of Jahangir is very significant in respect of setting some trends in the administration which went unchecked under his successors with the result that despite its grandeur the Mughal empire continued to hold the seeds of its destruction. Within the last decade of Akbar's reign the mansabs of the landed elements rose from 20950 to 42,800, a more than hundred percent rise. Similarly under Jahangir for the expansion of the empire and its consolidation in the Himachal, Central India and the Deccan, where Akbar's control was superficial, it was desirable to further increase the mansabs in these areas also. By the end of Jahangir's reign their mansab rose to 82200 against an almost hundred percent rise. Under Jahangir and later under his successors flood gates of mansabs were opened and it became almost impossible to control them. The gap between expectations and their fulfilment increased day by day and with it increased discontent and frustration among the nobility and the landed aristocracy. Jahangir diluted Akbar's policy of check and balances within Rajput kingdoms of creating amirs independent of the chiefs. Abandonment of the policy by Jahangir and his successors created rulers in Rajasthan who could be a potential threat to the security of the empire. Jahangir broke the monopoly of the Kachhwahas in Rajasthan and of Rajasthan in the empire in respect of sharing the imperial mansabs.

TABLE A

Name of zamindari	Under Akbar		Under Jahangir	
	Name of the Chief	Mansab	Name of the chief	Mansab
Amber	Man Singh	7000	Man Singh	7000
			Bhao Singh	5000
			Jai Singh	4000
Marwar	Raj Singh	4000	Raj Singh	4000
			Ram Das	2000
Deosa	Ruepsi	1000	-	-
Amarsar	Manohar	400	Manohar	1000
			Prithi Chand	700
Khandela	Rai Sal	2500	Rai Sal	3000
Jodhpur	Udai Singh	1000	Suraj Singh	5000
			Gaj Singh	5000
Bikaner	Rai Singh	4000	Rai Singh	5000
			Daleep Singh	2000
			Suraj Singh	2000
Kishangarh	-	-	Kishan Singh	3000
			Jagmal & Sahasmal (Nathmal)	500 500
Udaipur	-	-	Karn Singh	5000
Bundi	Bhoj	900	Bhoj	900
			Ratan Singh	5000
Orcha	Ram Chand	500	Bir Singh	5000
Jaisalmer	Bhim	500	Bhim	500
			Kalyan	2000
Mau	Basu	1500	Basu	4000
			Suraj Mal	2000
			Jagat Singh	2000

TABLE B

=====		
Year	Total Mansab	Akbar's death 100
=====		
1595	20950	48.9
At Akbar's death	42800	100.0
I year of Jahangir	52500	122.6
II " "	49700	116.1
III " "	54700	127.8
IV " "	53700	125.4
V. " "	54200	126.6
VI " "	50700	118.4
VII " "	51700	120.7
VIII " "	51700	120.7
IX " "	44000	102.8
X " "	47500	110.9
XI " "	52000	121.4
XII " "	51000	119.1
XIII " "	49400	115.4
XIV " "	47700	111.4
XV " "	49000	114.5
XVI " "	67300	157.2
XVII " "	67700	158.2
XVIII " "	70200	164.0
XIX " "	70200	164.0
XX " "	72700	169.9
XXI " "	72700	169.9
XXII " "	82000	191.6
=====		

TABLE C

Group	1595		At the death of Akbar.		1st year of Jahangir		7th year of Jahangir		At the death of Jahangir	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Kachhvahas	12550	58.5	29800	68.8	28500	54.3	25000	47.9	9500	10.5
(a) Rajawat	10800	87.1	25300	84.9	22500	78.9	18000	72.0	9500	100.0
(b) Shaikhawat	1250	9.2	2500	8.4	3000	10.5	4000	16.0	-	-
(c) Others	500	3.7	2000	6.7	3000	10.5	3000	12.0	-	-
Rathore	5500	25.6	4500	10.4	7000	13.3	8500	16.3	10300	12.6
(a) Jodhpur	1000	18.2	-	-	-	-	4000	47.1	6500	66.0
(b) Bikaner	4500	81.8	4500	100.0	5500	78.6	1000	11.8	3000	29.1
(c) Kishangarh	-	-	-	-	-	-	2000	23.5	500	4.9
(d) Merta	-	-	-	-	1500	21.4	1500	17.6	-	-
Sisodia	1500	7.0	1500	3.5	4000	7.6	3200	6.1	5700	7.0
(a) Mewar	-	-	-	-	-	-	2500	78.1	5000	87.7
(b) Others	1500	100.0	1500	100.0	4000	100.0	700	21.9	700	12.3
Bhatti (Jaisalmer)	500	2.3	500	1.2	500	1.0	500	1.0	2000	2.4
Bundela	500	2.2	500	1.2	3500	6.7	4000	8.6	8500	10.4
Hada	900	4.3	1000	2.3	1000	1.9	1500	2.9	5000	6.1
Himachal	-	-	1500	3.4	3500	6.7	4000	9.7	4500	5.5
Others	-	-	4000	9.2	4500	8.6	5000	9.6	8500	10.4
Dakshani	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28000	34.1
(a) Brahmin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4000	14.3
(b) Maratha	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24000	85.7

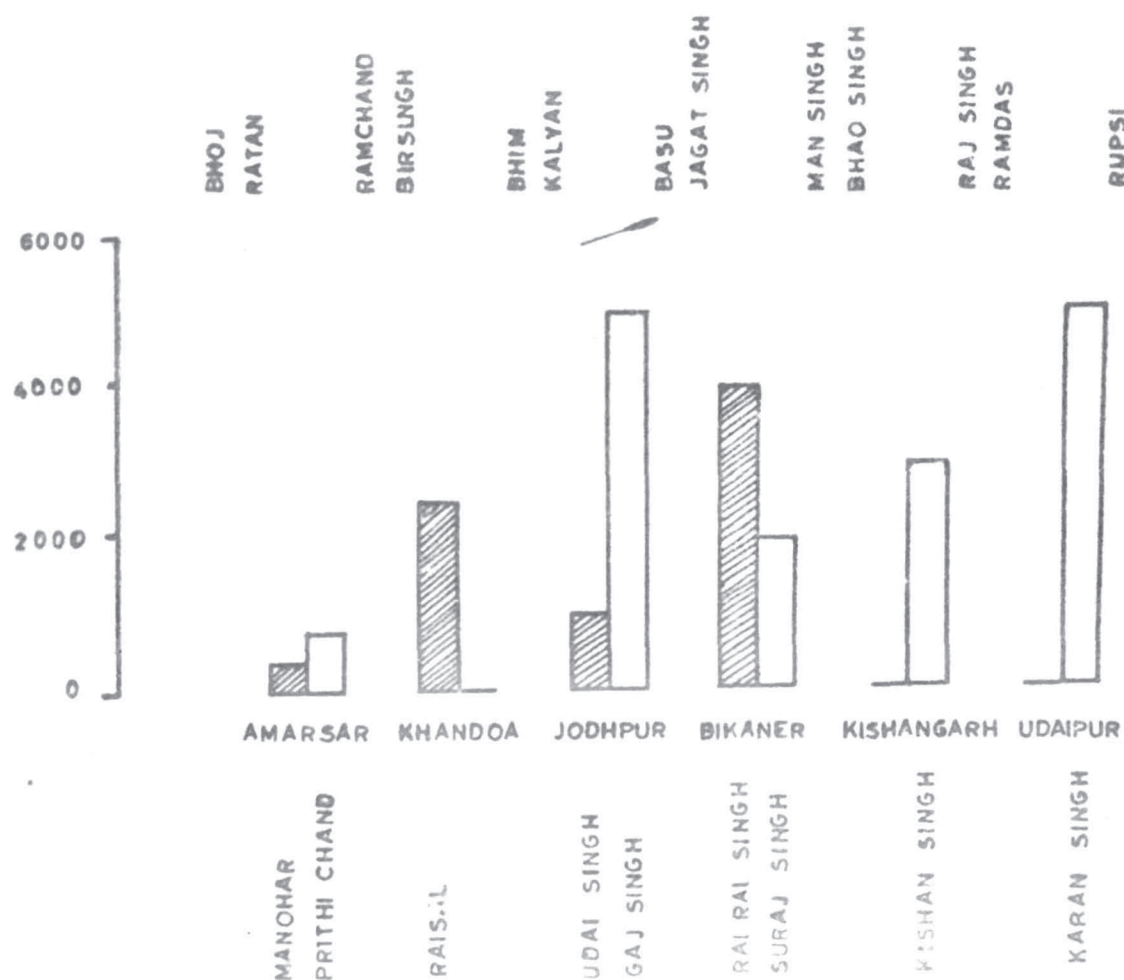
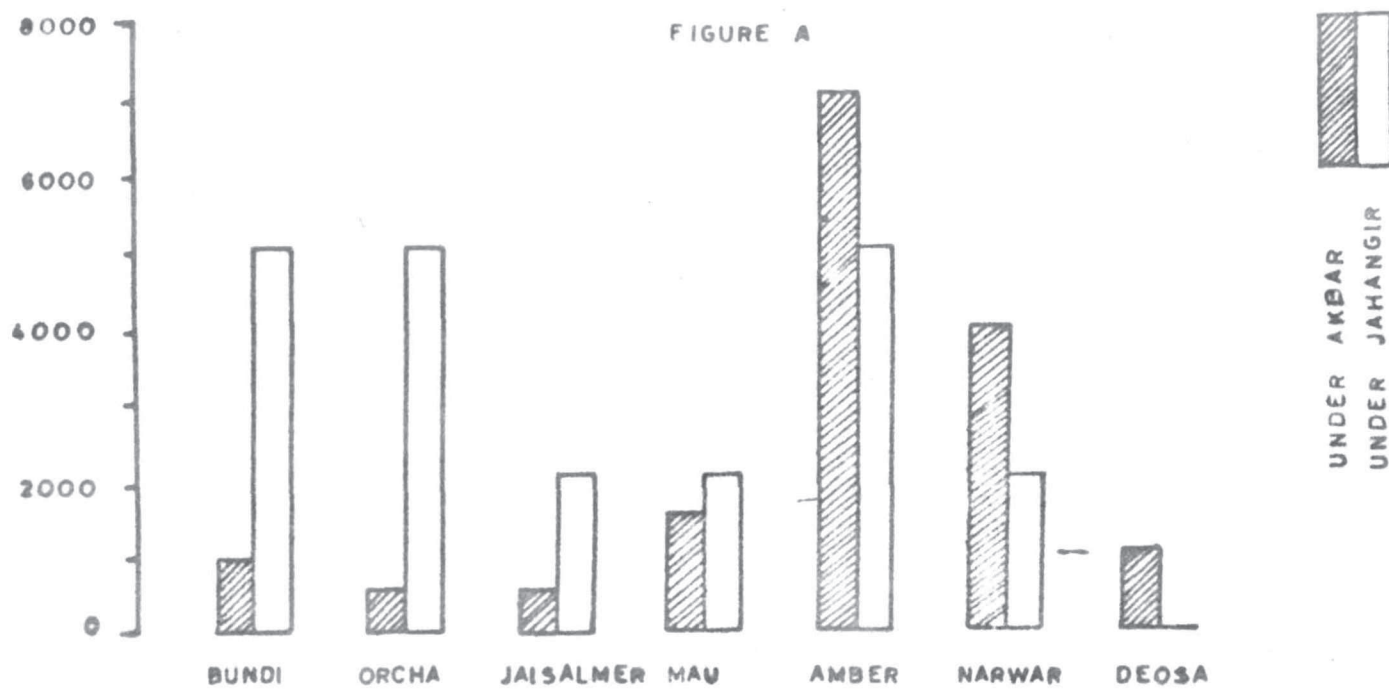
TABLE D

Year.	Kachhwaha	Rathor	Sisodia	Khatti	Bundela	Hada	Himachal	Others	Dakhani.
1595	58.5	25.6	7.0	2.3	2.3	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Death of Akbar	68.8	10.4	3.5	1.2	1.2	2.3	3.4	9.2	0.0
Jehangir R.Y. I	54.3	13.3	7.6	1.0	6.7	1.9	6.7	8.6	0.0
II	51.3	16.1	6.4	1.0	7.0	2.0	7.0	9.1	0.0
III	47.5	21.9	5.9	0.9	6.4	2.7	6.6	8.2	0.0
IV	44.7	24.2	6.0	0.9	6.5	2.8	6.5	8.4	0.0
V	45.2	24.0	5.9	0.9	6.5	2.8	6.5	8.3	0.0
VI	48.3	15.8	6.3	1.0	8.9	3.0	7.9	8.9	0.0
VII	47.9	16.3	6.1	1.0	8.6	2.9	7.7	9.6	0.0
VIII	48.4	16.4	6.2	1.0	7.7	2.9	7.7	9.7	0.0
IX	39.8	25.5	7.3	1.1	9.1	3.4	3.4	11.4	0.0
X	25.9	25.3	17.3	1.1	8.4	4.2	6.3	11.6	0.0
XI	25.6	23.1	16.7	3.8	7.7	3.8	6.7	12.5	0.0
XII	21.2	23.5	17.1	3.9	7.8	3.9	3.9	12.7	5.9
XIII	22.7	24.3	13.6	4.0	8.1	4.0	6.1	11.1	6.1
XIV	23.5	19.9	14.0	4.2	9.6	5.2	4.2	13.0	6.3
XV	17.3	18.4	14.7	4.1	11.4	6.9	8.2	12.9	6.1
XVI	7.0	14.9	8.5	3.0	8.3	3.7	5.2	9.4	40.1
XVII	8.1	11.8	8.4	3.0	9.6	3.7	5.2	10.3	39.9
XVIII	7.1	12.8	8.1	2.8	12.1	3.6	5.2	10.0	38.5
XIX	7.1	12.8	8.4	2.8	12.1	3.6	3.6	10.0	39.9
XX	6.9	12.4	7.8	2.7	11.7	6.9	3.4	9.6	38.5
XXI	6.9	12.4	7.8	2.7	11.7	6.9	3.4	9.6	38.5
XXII	10.5	12.6	7.0	2.4	10.4	6.1	5.5	10.4	34.1

Family	Sub-Group	Total mansabs in 1595	% in 1595	No. at the death of Akbar	% at the death of Akbar	No. Jahan-gir's I R.Y.	% Jahan-gir's I R.Y.	No. Jahan-gir's VII R.Y.	% Jahan-gir's VII R.Y.	No. Jahan-gir's XV R.Y.	% Jahan-gir's XV R.Y.
<u>Kachhvahas</u>		12550	59.90	29800	77.80	28500	67.86	25000	61.43	7500	25.77
	Rajawat	10800	86.06	25300	84.90	22500	78.95	18000	72.00	6500	86.06
	Shaikhawat	1250	9.96	2500	8.39	3000	10.53	4000	16.00	1000	13.00
	Others.	500	3.98	2000	6.71	3000	10.53	3000	12.00	-	-
<u>Rathore</u>		5500	26.25	4500	11.75	7000	16.67	10000	20.88	9000	30.93
	Jodhpur	1000	18.18	-	-	-	-	4000	47.06	4500	50.00
	Bikaner	4500	81.82	4500	100.00	5500	78.57	2500	11.76	2000	22.22
	Kishangarh	-	-	-	-	-	-	2000	23.53	500	5.56
	Merta	-	-	-	-	1500	21.43	1500	17.65	2000	22.22
<u>Sisodias</u>		1500	7.16	1500	3.92	4000	9.52	3200	7.86	7200	24.74
	Mewar	-	-	-	-	-	-	2500	78.13	6500	90.00
	Others	1500	100.00	1500	100.00	4000	100.00	700	21.87	700	9.09
<u>Bhattis-Jaislmer</u>		500	2.39	500	1.31	500	1.91	500	1.23	2000	6.15
<u>Hadas. Bundi.</u>		900	4.30	1000	2.61	1000	2.38	1500	3.69	3400	11.11
<u>Others</u>		-	-	1000	2.61	1000	2.38	2000	4.91	-	-
<hr/>											
Total Rajasthan mansab.		20950	1000.00	38300	90.00	42000	80.00	42200		29100	
<hr/>											
Total Rajput & landed element mansabs.		20950		42800		52500		51700		49000	

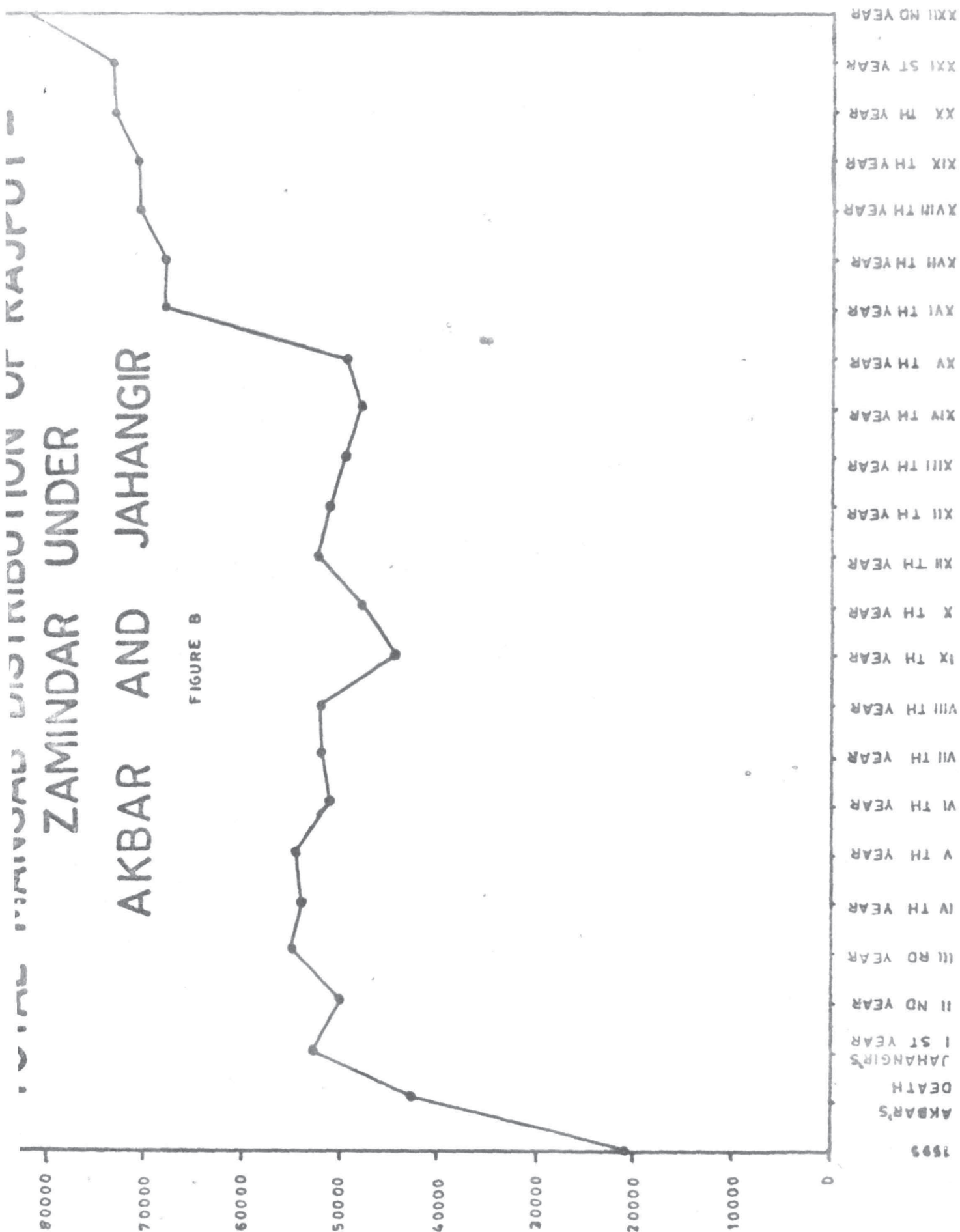
RISE AND FALL OF ZAMINDARIS UNDER AKBAR AND JAHANGIR

FIGURE A



ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION OF RAJPUT - ZAMINDAR UNDER AKBAR AND JAHANGIR

FIGURE B



CATEGORY-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF MANSAB OF RAJPUT-ZAMINDAR

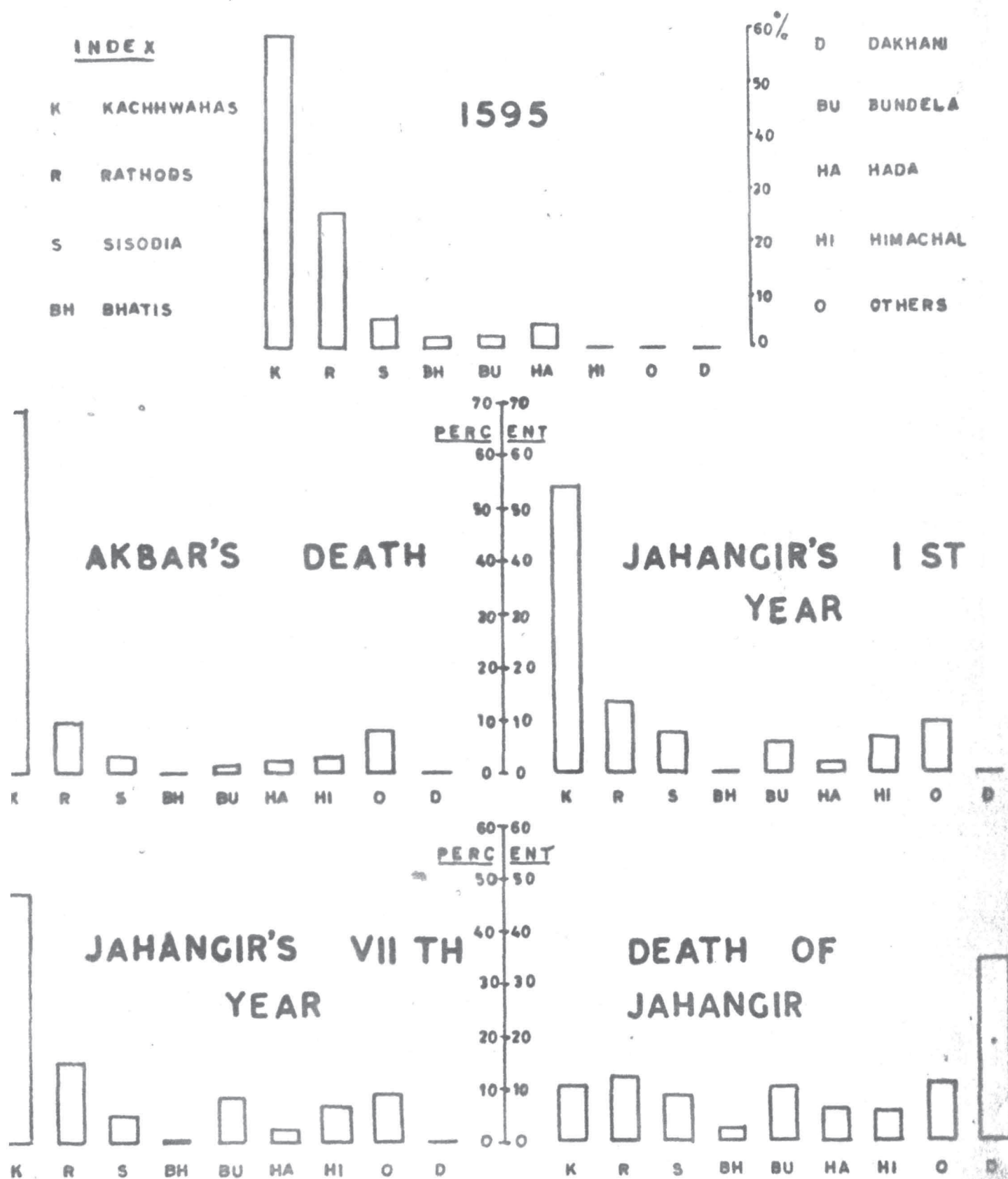
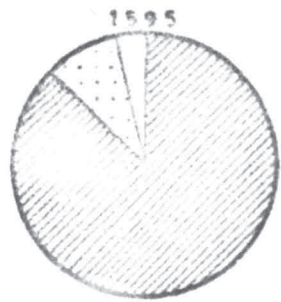
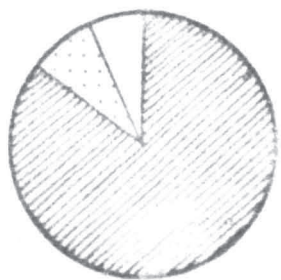


FIGURE C

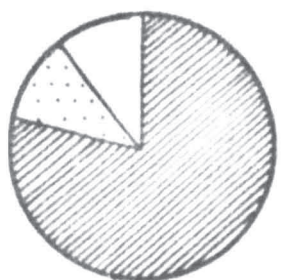
MANSAB DISTRIBUTION UNDER RAJPUT FAMILIES



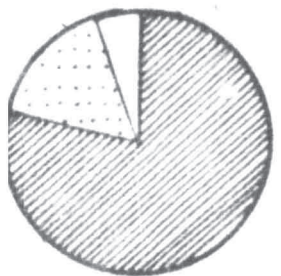
AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR



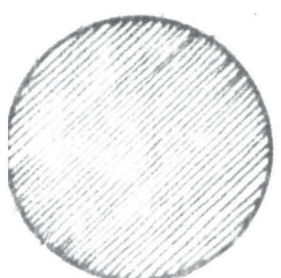
FIRST YEAR OF JAHANGIR



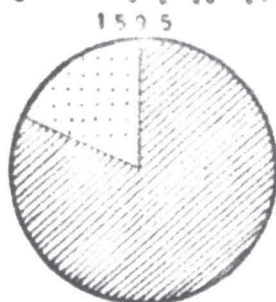
SEVENTH YEAR OF JAHANGIR



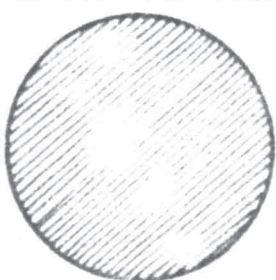
AT THE DEATH OF JAHANGIR



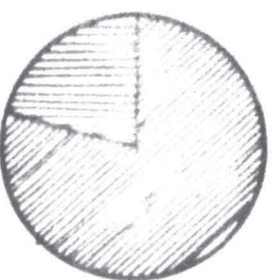
KACHHWAHAS



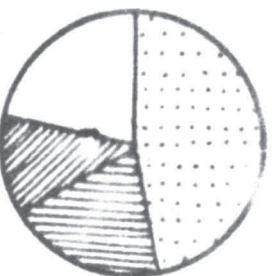
AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR



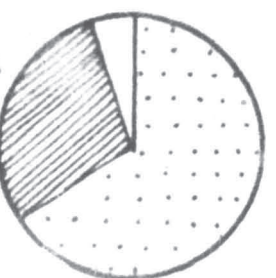
FIRST YEAR OF JAHANGIR



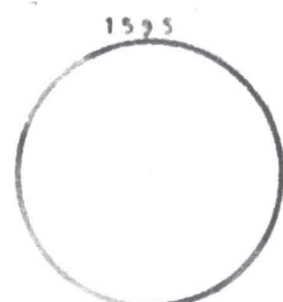
SEVENTH YEAR OF JAHANGIR



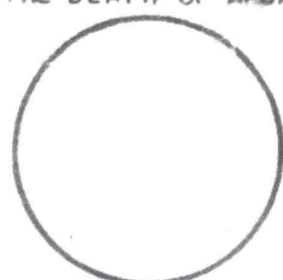
AT THE DEATH OF JAHANGIR



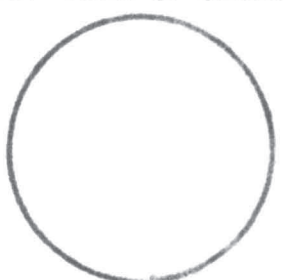
ROTHODS



AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR



FIRST YEAR OF JAHANGIR



SEVENTH YEAR OF JAHANGIR



AT THE DEATH OF JAHANGIR



SISODIAS

SHAIKHAWATS
 RAJAWATS
 OTHERS

SIKANER
 JODHPUR
 MERTA
 KISHANGARH

NEWAR
 OTHERS

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

From Tilak under Masood of Ghazna to Hemu under the Suris, Hindu participation in the administration of the Sultanat was substantial. It particularly grew with the break-up of the Delhi Sultanat in the north and the break-up of Bahamani kingdom in the south. The mystic movements both among the Muslims and Hindus created an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding and healed the wounds of conquest. By the time Akbar took measures like the recruitment of Hindus on top positions, abolition of jazia and other discriminatory taxes, the necessary background had been prepared in the preceeding century with the result that the people accepted Akbar's Sulh Kul in its totality and the movement to oppose it did not receive popular support.

Rajput response to the re-occupation of India by Humayon was that of cautious indifference. The Rajputs practically kept themselves away from the last great resistance put up by the Afghans under the leadership of Hemraj in 1556. At that stage there was little difference for them between the Mughals and the Afghans. The Rajput rulers, individually or collectively never attempted to resist the Mughal authority except when bhūm was threatened. They did not volunteer to offer any alliance with the Mughals either, except the Kachhwahas who under compelling circumstances sought the protection of Akbar.

The rise of the Kachhwahas in the Mughal service was slow but steady. Bharahmall had thrown his lot with the Mughals as early as 1556.¹ After his daughter's marriage to Akbar he was given a high rank, equivalent to the mansab of 5000 zat, and was given leave to go back to Amber while his son Bhagwant Das, grandson Man Singh, and other relatives were taken into permanent imperial service. What exactly were their duties is not known. Man Singh who was a little over eleven, was required to give company to the five years old Abdur Rahim, the future Khan Khanan.² Bhagwant Das and other Kachhwahas were enrolled among the personal attendants of the emperor. In course of time the Kachhwahas won the complete trust of Akbar who assigned them jobs of confidential nature. Mirza Abul Qasim, son of Mirza Kamran who was kept as a prisoner in the fort of Gwalior, was killed by one of the sons of Bharahmall.³ Surely the assassination must have been carried out at the instance of Akbar. The Kachhwahas were generally entrusted with the charge of prisoners. In 1572, Jajhar Khan and Ulugh Khan the Abyssinian nobles of Gujarat were handed over to Bhagwant Das and Man Singh respectively. Shahbaz Khan, Mir Bakshi was twice handed over to Rai Sal Darbari as a prisoner. Similarly, Man Singh Darbari held the charge of the dangerous 'rebel' Muhammad Husain Mirza for a short time, and on another occasion a son of Bharahmall held a similar charge.⁴ Bharahmall twice held the charge of the Capital Agra, in the absence of the emperor in 1572-73.⁵ This was undoubtedly a position of great responsibility which the Raja discharged with competence. This was the apex of Bharahmall's career.

1. A.N., Vol.II, p. 20.

2. Bhakkari, vol.I, p. 31.

3. Arif Qandhari, p. 90.

4. Shah Abu Turab Wali, p. 64; A.N., Vol.II, pp. 353, 375, 641; Arif Qandhari, p. 11

5. A.N. Vol.III, pp. 19, 35, 43; Badaoni, Vol.II, pp. 159, 154-155.

Bharahmall had a very limited object in his mind when he offered his daughter in marriage to Akbar i.e. preservation of his gaddi of Amber against the claims of his nephew Suja, the eldest son of Purnamal, the late ruler of Amber, and the defence of his zamindari against the encroachment of Mirza Sharafuddin Husain. By his alliance with the Kachhwahas, Akbar must have looked forward to the Rajput military support in his campaigns. Akbar's alliance with them was highly unimaginative. The Kachhwahas neither had the resources nor the prestige which could be utilised in the interest of the Mughal empire. Akbar, as a matter of fact, had no choice; the prestigious and powerful sisodias and Rathors were not keen to enter ^{into} an alliance with Akbar. Bharahmall too sought Akbar's alliance in utter desperation. Neither Akbar's alliance with Amber nor his liberal religious policy drew the other Rajputs into his service. The Kachhwahas were a large tribe. Bharahmall had several brothers and each of them had a large progeny but even they could not create enthusiasm among their tribesmen and other Rajputs for the imperial service and Akbar had to deal with Khan-i-Zaman,¹ and other rebel officers without any sizable support from them.

1. A.L. Srivastava's observation that there were in the service of Akbar, in the early months of 1562, influential Hindus like Todarmal, Man Singh, Bhagwant Das, Bedi Chand, Birbar, Jaimal, Lonkarn and others is misleading. This impressive list must not deceive the readers. These are the only few Hindu names in the Akbarnama who were in the imperial service in 1562 and Srivastava's 'and others' gives the impression that there were many more like them. It is doubtful if any of them was influential in 1562. Jaimal and Lonkarn were in the service of Mirza Sharafuddin Husain. Man Singh was only eleven years old and Birbar had just made his appearance at the court. There is no doubt that some of them became influential at a later stage.

Among the Kachhwahas, Bhagwant Das, his son Man Singh, Rai Sal Darbari and Man Singh Darbari waited upon the emperor as companions and attendants and were rarely sent on expeditions which were not led by the emperor himself. As personal attendants they were not obliged to take part in the battles unless the emperor himself participated in the actual fighting as was the case in Gujarat in 1572-73. The complexion of the Mughal army changed substantially after the entry of the Chohans, Rathors and Bhattis in the imperial service in 1570-71. For joining the imperial service they were neither guided by the ideals enumerated by Professor R.P. Tripathi¹ nor because of the leading role of ruling family of Amber and its 'intercession' and 'persuasion'². They merely submitted to a superior military force. The advantages of the alliance with the Mughals were realised as the time passed and once they were realised there was a scramble for government jobs and mansabs. The impact of their submission was discernible in the subsequent years. Akbar got the support of a wider section of the Rajputs in his Gujarat expeditions. After the initial resistance and then reluctance the Rajputs extended a whole-hearted support to Akbar. The Kachhwahas were head and shoulders above the other Rajputs in this respect. They emerged as prominent leaders of war in the Gujarat expeditions. Bharahmall, Bhagwant Das and Man Singh distinguished themselves in several ways and henceforth their rise was rapid. 1571 brought about a break through in Akbar's relations with the Rajputs. They began to swell the ranks from 1571 and during the great crises in 1579-83 the Rajput support went a long way in the suppression of the eastern rebels and the repulsion of Mirza Hakim.

1. R.P. Tripathi, Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire, pp. 224-25.

2. A.L. Srivastava, p. 128.

Rana Pratap began his rule with an open mind. His accession did not bring about any change in the domestic or foreign policy of Mewar. He must have learnt with satisfaction that Akbar did not recognise Jagmal as the successor of Udai Singh. Akbar formally recognised the accession of Pratap by sending a diplomatic mission, headed by Jalal Khan Qurehi in 1572.¹ Thus, Pratap's rule began on a hopeful note. His cordial reception of Man Singh and Bhagwant Das and his visit to Todarmal clearly indicate that the Rana was equally keen to avoid a conflict with Akbar. In response to Akbar's demand of personal homage he sent his eldest son Amar Singh to the court.²

The Sisodias of Mewar were undoubtedly the most respected kings among the Rajputs. They enjoyed a position of unchallenged supremacy for many centuries in Rajputana while the Kachhwahas of Amber were among the lesser known tribes and never enjoyed, before their alliance with the Mughals, a position of eminence. Amber remained a vassal state of the Sultanat or of Mewar or Marwar, whoever happened to be stronger. The Mughal-Kachhwaha alliance in 1562, provided the Kachhwahas with an opportunity to strengthen their position in Rajputana and soon Amber became a 'first class state'. No tribe of consequence joined the Mughal camp and for almost a decade, the Kachhwahas ruled supreme in the Mughal court and thus they developed vested interests in the court and the empire. The continuity and success of the Mughal empire assured them a very high status and general prosperity. By the time the Rathor and other Rajput tribes joined the imperial camp they had already

1. Qandhari, p. 160.

2. A.N., Vol.III, p. 67.

acquired a position of prominence. They knew that the Sisodias would soon overshadow them if they decided to join the Mughal camp as it did happen in the reign of Jahangir. The Kachhwahas, thus, were mainly guided by the undermentioned objectives in their dealings with the Sisodias. Firstly they contributed their best to the empire because their destiny was linked with the Mughals. Secondly for maintaining their unrivalled position among the Rajput nobles of the court they never sincerely tried to achieve a political settlement between Akbar and the Sisodias. Thirdly because of the age long loyalty towards the Sisodias by the minor states, and because of the popularity of the Sisodias with the people of Mewar the Kachhwahas neither wished for a complete destruction of Rana Pratap nor the devastation of his territories.

The arrival of Amar Singh at Sikri must have been a cause of apprehension among the Rajputs, particularly the Kachhwahas, who were by then deeply entrenched in the court. Although Akbar himself took the initiative and opened the negotiations with the Rana, yet it appears that under the pressure of the 'entrenched Rajputs' Akbar grew cold towards the Rana and adopted a stiff line. He seems to have been led to believe that a lenient policy towards the Rana would start a chain reaction among the Rajput chiefs who had half-heartedly joined the emperor and that a strong line against the Sisodias would keep the lesser kingdoms in complete subjugation.

It is clear that Akbar demanded unconditional surrender and insisted upon the personal homage of the Rana. The Rana, perhaps hoped that Akbar would assign him a special status, at least superior to other Rajput vassals. The aspirations of the Rana were based on a deep-rooted sense of superiority, backed by history. To the great disgust of the Rana, Amar Singh was very coldly received at the imperial court. Little significance was attached to his visit. In the three volume Akbarnama, Abul Fazl wrote wonly a line about the visit of the great grandson of Rana Sangram Singh. The prince seems to have returned with the impression that Akbar was not prepared to accord the status and the position which the time honoured house of Chittor deserved. Being treated less than or even at par with the Kachhwahas or the Rathors was humiliating for the Sisodias. Akbar failed to appreciate this aspect of Sisodia sentiments, which his son Jahangir did realise later. Jahangir gave a right royal reception to Kunwar Karn Singh, when he formally submitted to him in 1616 on behalf of his father, Rana Amar Singh. Jahangir in his short autobiography has assigned several pages to the visit of Karn Singh. Jahangir did not insist on the personal homage of the Rana and offered him very lenient terms and thus ended a terrible and bloody struggle between the mighty Mughal empire and the poor but determined Mewar.

In 1576, Akbar selected Man Singh to lead the campaign against Rana Pratap. We do not know what exactly was the motivation for his appointment. Man Singh's military career was not particularly bright nor had he been able to emerge as the leader

of the Kachhwahas. The factions within the Rajawats did not, perhaps, acknowledge Bhagwant Das, the ruler of Amber as their leader. Rupsi of Deosa and Askarn of Narwar behaved like independent chiefs. Akbar accepted this position and they were never placed under the command of Bharahmall or his sons and grandsons. Man Singh's appointment as the commander of the Mewar expedition was a great event for the family of Bharahmall and not for the Kachhwahas. Among the Rajawats, outside the immediate family of Bharahmall, only Khangar is mentioned by the contemporary writers for having participated in the battle of Haldighati. The support of Lonkarn (Shaikhawat) seems to be half-hearted. He ran away at the first opportunity. Man Singh, Jagannath and Madhava Singh, the progeny of Bharahmall alone, had to bear the brunt of the Sisodia onslaught.

Akbar had placed high hopes in the leadership of Man Singh but the outcome of the battle of Haldigathi was very disappointing. The contemporary writers agree that the Rajputs, particularly Man Singh, Madhava Singh and Jagannath fought fearlessly and risked their lives but they were denied the rewards and promotions which were given to their Muslim counterparts most liberally. The discriminatory attitude of Akbar towards Man Singh and Asaf Khan was the result of their slackness in pursuing the Rana and Man Singh's order forbidding the plunder and devastation in the Rana's territory. Man Singh wanted to win over the Rana's subjects to his side; he, therefore, adopted a sympathetic policy towards them. Akbar, on

the other hand, stood for a policy of fire and sword to terminate the Mewar affair as quickly as possible. Man Singh was recalled and he himself came down to Mewar to guide the campaign personally. The Kachhwaha leaders continued to serve under, or with other officers against the Rana and were often reprimanded for their slackness. This does not mean that they did not give enthusiastic support to the emperor because of their fellow-feeling for the Rana, as each time Akbar sent Man Singh or Bhagwant Das, he associated a Muslim officer with them, and if the Kachhwaha leader was censured his Muslim counterpart was also reprimanded. When Man Singh was appointed commander, Asaf Khan was made bakshi of the army and several Muslim leaders were commanded to accompany Man Singh. If the persons mentioned in the accounts of the battle of Haldighati are an index, the Rajputs constituted a minority. Similarly, on another occasion they were sent with Qutbuddin and again with Qasim Khan and Mirza Khan. When Man Singh and Bhagwant Das were censured Asaf Khan and Qutbuddin were not spared. It is thus obvious that if there was slackness on the part of the Kachhwahas the Muslim officers equally shared the responsibility for it. Akbar was convinced that the Kachhwahas were not the black sheep in his camp. He again appointed them with Shahbaz Khan against the Rana in 1577. Some of the nobles attributed Man Singh's policy of winning over the hostile Rajputs by a sympathetic approach to insincerity. Shahbaz Khan sent back the Kachhwaha leaders to the court because he feared that their soft attitude towards the Rana might delay the termination of Mewar war.

How strong the ties of race and religion were in later medieval India is a matter which require a thorough investigation. A detailed analysis of this problem is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, this factor cannot be altogether ignored. If detached from the wider context, several examples can be cited where considerations of religion and race seem to have hampered the implementation of imperial policies. Raja Basu is alleged to have sympathy for Rana Amar Singh. In the reign of Aurangzeb, Jaswant Singh is alleged to have a secret understanding with Shivaji. Dr. Athar Ali has cited several cases of the betrayal of the Mughal officers on account of religious or racial affinity. Such cases should not form the basis of any generalisation, for numerous examples can be cited where the Mughal officers, including the Kachhwahas, fought against their co-religionists and their kith and kin. Man Singh's ruthless suppression of the Hindu gamindars of Bihar, Orissa and Bengal; Askarn's expeditions against Madhukar of Orcha and Jaimal's suppression of Dauda of Bundi are a few examples of the Kachhwaha's support to the Mughals against their co-religionists. Similarly other Hindus like Rai Singh, Patr Das, (Sunder) Bikrmajeet etc. also fought against the Hindu rajas. One factor of primary importance should not be ignored by the historians that the actions of these nobles, belonging to any ethnic or religious community, were mainly guided by self interest.¹

1. Athar Ali, ^{Mughal} The Nobility under Aurangzeb, pp. 203-206.

The Kachhwahas had been vassals of Mewar for a long time and this factor seems to have been responsible for their reluctance to adopt a ruthless policy towards Mewar.¹ Akbar's silence over Shahbaz Khan's sending back of the Kachhwahas does not indicate his approval of Shahbaz Khan's action. The Kachhwahas could be deployed in the Punjab. Akbar never lost trust in them. Akbar and Jahangir continued to deploy the Kachhwahas against the Sisodias. In 1584, Jagannath led a campaign against Rana Pratap; he also held the charge of the sensitive suba of Ajmer for a short time in 1586. Man Singh and Madhava Singh were sent against Rana Amar Singh in 1599. In the beginning of his reign Jahangir also sent Jagannath against the Rana and at one time he held the independent charge of the expedition. It can thus be concluded that the Kachhwahas exerted fully against the ranas of Mewar but refrained from committing atrocities in Mewar. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Kachhwahas acquired power and prestige but they never made any effort to induce the Rana to make a peaceful settlement with the Mughals. On the contrary they are reported to have exhorted the Rana to continue the resistance.²

Akbar's failure to establish some kind of suzerainty over Afghanistan in 1578, obliged him to initiate some changes in the personnel of the Punjab to strengthen its defence. The Kachhwahas, in whom he had complete trust, were assigned jagirs in the Punjab. When Mirza Hakim's invasion became imminent he reinforced the defence of the frontier province by sending more Rajputs. It is not without

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 173.

2. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 218, 238.

interest that the advance force sent by Akbar to Lahore after Shadman's defeat in December 1580, consisted mainly of the Rajputs, particularly of the Kachhwahas.

The invasion of Mirza Hakim and the great eastern rebellion was a God-sent opportunity for the sudden rise of the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular. The Hindu nobles completely identified themselves with the emperor and supported him as one body. Man Singh and his tribesmen shared the glory of victory in the west. The defeat of Shadman, the defence of Lahore and the capture of Kabul were achieved by Kachhwaha support. Similarly in the east, Askarn and Khangar cooperated with Shahbaz Khan and other commanders in the suppression of the eastern rebels. The invasion of Mirza Hakim, the rebellion of the Bihar and Bengal officers, and the support of the Hindu officers completely emancipated Akbar and he gave up all attempts to woo the Muslims.

The rise of the Kachhwahas and other Hindus and their participation in the civil and military affairs increased by leaps and bounds after 1580. Their numbers were steadily increasing but in 1580 they acquired a qualitative change. A large number of Hindu officers participated in the conquest of Kabul in 1581, the suppression of eastern rebellion in 1579-83, and the wars in Gujarat in 1583-84. Similarly, their increasing participation is noticed in the conquest of Orissa, suppression of the Afghans in Bihar and Bengal, and in the Deccan wars. Among the non-Muslim subjects of Akbar, the Kachhwahas outshone themselves in the service and defence

of the empire and they were handsomely rewarded for this.¹ The Kachhwahas secured the lion's share in the military and administrative responsibilities given to the Hindus. In 1583, Akbar appointed several committees to look after various departments. Abul Fazl has mentioned 47 nominees on these committees, 9 of them were Hindus. The Kachhwahas were the largest single group represented in these committees. They held 4 positions while one each was held by a Brahmin, a Khatri, a Sisodia, a Panwar and a Hada.² Similarly, in 1586, a scheme to appoint two governors for each guba was conceived. Out of 24 designate governors for the 12 subas 6 were Rajputs and four of them were Rajawat Kachhwahas and all the four belonged to the immediate family of Bharahmall.³ The Kachhwahas were the highest beneficiaries of Akbar's liberalism; except for the revenue departments they monopolised the higher ranks and positions in the government. This position is obvious from Ain's list where almost half of the Rajput mansabdars belong to the Kachhwaha family. It is also significant that about half of the Kachhwahas directly belonged to the family of Bharahmall, and all the ranks above 1500 sat

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 262, 353, 424, 436-37, 615, 631, etc.

2. A.N., Vol. III, p. 404.

3. A.N., Vol. III, p. 511.

zat are exclusively enjoyed by them.¹ The disproportionate rise of Bhurahmall's family and later of the progeny of Bhagwant Das must have excited the feelings of some of the Kachhwahas who felt frustrated. Even among the sons of Bhagwant Das there was a high disparity in the mansabs. While Man Singh had a mansab of 5000, his brother Pratap had a mansab of 200 only. There were several frustrated persons among the Kachhwahas who did not share Man Singh's enthusiasm in the service of the Mughal empire. The first signs of discontent appeared in 1579 when Tiloksi, Mohan, Surdas, the cousins of Bhagwant Das, and Ucha, the son of Balbhadra openly revolted. No amount of persuasion could bring them round and ultimately they lost their lives as rebels. Similarly Balaram and Datman also lost their lives in more or less similar circumstances. The Kachhwahas were a determined people. They supported the empire with great zeal and enthusiasm but if they decided to revolt there was no scope for retracing their steps. The Kachhwahas who openly defied

1. Ain's Rajput mansabdars:

Kachhwahas.

1. Bharahmall	5000	8. Jagmal	1000
2. Bhagwant Das	5000	9. Jagat Singh	900
3. Man Singh	5000	10. Raj Singh	900
4. Jagannath	2500	11. Ram Das Kachhwaha	500
5. Madhava Singh	1500	12. Arjun Singh	500
6. Rai Sal Darbari	1250	13. Sabal Singh	500
7. Rupsi Bairagi	1000		

Non-Kachhwahas.

1. Rai Rai Singh	4000	8. Medni Rai Chohan	800
2. Kalyanmal	2000	9. Jagmal Panwar	500
3. Rai Surjan Hada	2000	10. Rawal Bhim	500
4. Ram Chand Baghela	2000	11. Ram Chand Bundela	500
5. Rai Durga Das	1500	12. Mukatman Bhaduria	500
6. Udai Singh (Mota Raja)	1000	13. Ram Chand (Orissa)	500
7. Rai Bhoj	900	14. Daleep (Dalpat)	500

the Mughal authority lost their lives. In the reign of Jahangir Abhay Ram, Shiam Ram and Bijay Ram, the great grandsons of Baharahnall, refused to surrender their arms, and lost their lives in an encounter with the forces of Sharif Khan, the Amir-ul Umra. The suicidal revolts of the Kachhwahas mentioned above are only marginally different from the attempted suicides of Bhagwant Das and Pratap, and the suicide of Shah Begam (Jahangir's wife and Bhagwant das' daughter). These rebellions, the suicide and the attempted suicides show that many Kachhwahas could not mentally adjust to the 'the new order'.

Referring to the suicide of Shah Begam, Jahangir writes that 'her mind was several times disturbed, for such feelings are hereditary, and her ancestors ~~and her ancestors~~ and her brothers had occasionally shown signs of madness but, after a time, recovered.'¹ These obviously are the references to the attempted suicides of her father Bhagwant Das and her brother Pratap. Abul Fazl has also ascribed insanity to Bhagwant Das. The Kachhwahas were certainly not neurotic but some of them were highly sensitive. The rebellions and attempted suicides are not signs of insanity but expressions of disgust and frustration. However, the revolts discussed above were minor, nobles and their revolts did not effect the position of the Kachhwahas in the imperial court.²

1. Tuzuk, Vol. I, p.56.

2. See Chapter V.

The Kachhwahas were not a homogeneous group. Besides the two main groups of Rajawat and Shaikhawats there was an important noble Ram Das Kachhwaha and a few others who did not belong to either of the two groups. The Rajawat were the largest group *and were* represented by Bharahmall, Rupsi, Jagmal and Askarn, the sons of Prithviraj. Towards the end of Akbar's reign the progeny of Rupsi and Jagmal paled into insignificance. While the progeny of Baharamall monopolised the higher mansabs, Askarn, his son Raj Singh and his grandson Ram Das continued to hold respectable mansabs. Khalid Saifullah has rightly observed that Akbar dispersed the Kachhwahas all over the country.¹ During the later half of Akbar's reign Bhagwant Das was posted in the Punjab, Man Singh served in Bihar and Bengal, Madhava Singh mainly stayed with the emperor, Raj Singh was posted in Malwa and Jagannath served in the suba of Ajmer and in the Deccan. There remained little unity among them and Man Singh stood almost isolated in his support to Khusrav in the issue of succession.²

The Kachhwahas began to catch popular imagination after 1590. The details about them are few in the histories written before 1590. Arif Qandhari was not familiar with the names of the sons of Barahmall. On two occasions he just referred to them as the sons of Bharahmall.³ But the histories written after 1590 give details of even minor events connected with the Kachhwaha leaders.

1. Khalid Saifullah, paper read at I.H.C., Jadavapur.

2. See Chapter V.

3. Arif Qandhari, pp. 90, 126.

The Kachhwahas played a significant role during the later half of Akbar's reign. On account of their service and special relationship, Akbar gave them very high mansabs. About the time of Akbar's death they were at the apex and monopolised 68.6 % of the total zat rank of the Rajput mansabdars.¹ Except ^{for} Rai Rai Singh all the higher ranks in the above category were monopolised by them. But this exceptionally high percentage of the rank does not show their corresponding influence in the empire. They were essentially soldiers and exercised little influence in the policy making. Todarmal who had a lower rank than Bhagwant Das was far more influential than the latter. As warriors and conquerors they held the charge of the provinces and the important forts like Rohtas, Gwalior and Rathambhore.²

A balanced assessment of the position enjoyed by the Kachhwahas can only be made if it is examined in respect to (a) gain or loss of positions of power and prestige, (b) growth or fall in their mansabs, and (c) the position in relation to other Rajput or landed groups in the imperial service. The Kachhwahas, as has been discussed earlier, had a dominating position among the Rajputs in the reign of Akbar not only in terms of mansabs but also in terms of positions of power. The initial fall in the prestige of the Kachhwahas emanated from the mutual distrust between Jahangir and Man Singh. They, after the succession tussle was over, kept up appearances but their mutual distrust was obvious. Shortly after Jahangir's accession Man Singh was removed from the subedari

1. See tables at the end of Chapter VII.

2. See Chapter V.

of Bengal and after a few years he was sent to the Deccan as one of the several commanders. This was the first setback to the Kachhwaha prestige in the empire. The Kachhwahas could never regain the position of predominance which they enjoyed during the reign of Akbar. Their fall was slow but continuous. The great Kachhwaha leaders of Akbar's time died during the first decade of Jahangir's reign and their successors could not attain the ranks and positions enjoyed by their ancestors. During the reign of Akbar four Kachhwahas were considered for appointment as the governors and atleast three of them held the charge of the subas, though for a short time.¹ During the reign of Jahangir the Kachhwahas were deprived of this honour. Moreover they were never given independent commands to lead the major expeditions. In this respect there is a reversal of Akbar's policy of entrusting positions of responsibility and power to the Rajputs. Aziz Koka and Hawkins² observations that the Rajputs lost position to the Hindustanis and the Iranis is true only with respect to the higher posts only.

The policy of inducting the Rajputs and other landed elements in the imperial service initiated by Akbar finds its logical culmination in the reign of Jahangir. The new emperor initiated rationalisation of mansabdars by promoting other Rajput elements like the Bundelas and the rulers of Himachal which brought about qualitative change in the composition of the nobility belonging to the landed elements. The Kachhwahas who represented small samindaris of Amber,

1. See Chapter V.

2. Refaqt Ali Khan, Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1960.

Narwar, Amarsar, Khandela and Deosa etc. and constituted a small fraction of the Rajputs and other landed elements held about 69 per-cent of the mansabs given to the afore said groups at the death of Akbar. Jahangir who was quite favourably inclined to the Kachhwahas would not feel satisfied at the Kachhwaha support alone. He promoted the traditional houses like Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer and inducted new families among the high ranking amirs. Amber which stood head and shoulders above the rest of the Rajput houses was brought at par with Jodhpur, Bikaner, Bundi, Orchha and Mewar, by reducing the mansab of the Amber chief and by increasing the mansabs of the heads of other states.

Jahangir gave a rational basis to Akbar's policy towards the landed elements in the country. New elements found entry in the imperial service and their number began to swell. The total mansabs of the officers holding the rank of 500 and above almost doubled by the end of Jahangir's reign. There was constant rise of the Rajputs, the Marathas and other landed elements in the imperial service.

The submission of the Sisodias and the increasing involvement of the Mughals in the Deccan further changed the complexion of the nobility. While the main Rajput houses maintained their position, their percentage distribution came down heavily on account of the inclusion of the Marathas in the nobility. The Kachhwahas were the worst sufferers in this respect. A comparative study of the mansab

position of the main groups and their sub-groups would reveal that almost all the landed elements improved their position in the reign of Jahangir except the Kachhwahas. By the end of Jahangir's reign the families of Rai Sal Darbari and Lonkarn, representing the Shaikhawat branch of the Kachhwahas who had improved their position in the first year of Jahangir's reign, lost mansabs completely. Similarly the sons of Ram Das Kachhwaha did not get high mansabs. The fall in the fortunes of the Kachhwahas was a natural result of the policy of mansab rationalisation adopted by Jahangir. It would reveal that the policy of rationalisation was at work not only with regard to the major houses but also for the sub-groups. With the exception of Kishan Singh, who was the brother of Shahjahan's mother, the distribution of mansabs more or less represented the power, prestige, resourcefulness and above all personal loyalty to Jahangir of various families and individuals.

The percentage distribution of various families belonging to Rajput, Maratha and other landed elements shown in table D, appended at the end of the chapter^v further confirms Jahangir's attempt to rationalise and broaden the nobility. The slight fluctuation in the trends show the death, promotion or a new entry.

Among the Kachhwahas the importance of Amber grew with the fall of the other Kachhwaha houses like Khandela, Amarsar, Narwar and Deosa. There are several farman of Jahangir and letters of Nurjahan and prince Shahjahan addressed to the young ruler of Amber, Mirza Raja Jai Singh in the State Archives of Rajasthan. The importance of Jai Singh is clearly established by the contents of these documents. The crisis created by the revolt of Shahjahan increased

the importance of Jai Singh and other Rajput leaders.

To sum up, the Kachhwahas lost the power and prestige which they enjoyed under Akbar in the reign of Jahangir but Amber and its rulers continued to enjoy the position of eminence. The Kachhwahas served the empire with zeal and their contribution to the expansion and the consolidation of the empire was singular.¹

1. Among the well known Kachhwahas whose place of death is known none had the good fortune of having breathed his last at his home.

1. Baharaimall	Died at Agra.
2. Bhagwant Das	Died at Lahore.
3. Man Singh	Died in Deccan.
4. Bhao Singh	Died in Deccan.
5. Maha Singh	Died in Deccan.
6. Jagannath	Died in Deccan.
7. Rai Sal Darbari	Died in Deccan.
8. Girdhar	Died in Deccan.
9. Akhayraj	Died in Deccan.
10. Man Rup	Died in Deccan.
11. Manohar	Died in Deccan.
12. Prithichand	Died in Kangra.
13. Bhupat	Died in Gujarat.
14. Raghava Das Kachhwaha	Died in Gujarat.
15. Darjan Singh	Died in Bengal.
16. Himmat Singh	Died in Bengal.
17. Jagat Singh	Died at Agra.
18. Balaram	Died at Benaras.
19. Kan Kachhwaha	Died in Bihar.
20. Ram Das Kachhwaha	Died in Bangash.
21. Jaimal	Died at Chausa.
22. Jagrup	Died in Deccan.
23. Purnamall	Died in Awadh.
24. Jai Singh	Died in Deccan.

The Mughal Rajput relations began with mighty confrontation. Rana Sanga mobilised all the resources of Rajputana against Babar and sustained complete defeat in the battle of Khanua in 1527 which was followed by another Rajput defeat at Chanderi. Thereafter, the Rajputs never put up any combined resistance against the Mughals. A hundred years between 1527-1627 is a period of slow and steady change from confrontation to close cooperation with the Mughal empire. By the middle of Jahangir's reign all the major and minor Rajput kingdoms accepted the Mughal suzerainty and offered active assistance to the Mughals in building up an empire which was as much theirs as it was of other segments of nobility. The Rajputs completely identified themselves with the Mughal empire. Besides Rajputs, the Mughals enrolled mansabdars from amongst the professional class of Khatries, Brahmans and Kayasthas. Rise of Raja Todarmal, Rai Patr Das and Sundar Bikramjeet, from humble origin to positions of great power; induction of the Rajputs of Rajasthan, Shivalik and Salt ranges, of Himachal, Garhwal and Kumaon, of Central India and other regions in the imperial system; and the policy of Sulh Kul laid the foundation of the great and powerful Mughal empire to such strength that as late as 1857 the people of Hindustan looked upon the non-entity Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah for leadership.

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APPENDIX ACOMPARATIVE TABLE OF MANSABDARS

The following is the Table of the Rajput-mansabdars of the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, who held the rank of 500 sat and above, and were living in 1595, at the death of Akbar and in each regnal year of Jahangir. Only those mansabdars find place in the Table who were either Rajputs or Marathas. Udaji Ram is an exception. He has been included in the list because of his having local base and influence. The Khattris and Brahmans who were pure professional officers are not included in the list. The mansabdars of the same family or tribe like the Kachhwahas, the Rathors, the Sisodias, the Bhattis, the Bundelas and the Hadas are grouped separately. The mansabdars of the Himalayan kingdoms of Jammu and Himachal are grouped as 'Himachal' and Udaji Ram and the Marathas of the Deccan (beyond Khandesh) are grouped as 'Dakkhani', and the rest are grouped as 'others'. The above main groups are subdivided on the basis of family or watan jagir. Kachhwahas are subdivided as Rajawat, Shaikhawat and others on the basis of family but the Rathors are divided on the basis of watan jagir as Jodhpur, Bikaner and Kishangarh. There are no subdivisions for the Bundelas, the Hadas and the Bhattis.

Where it appears that between the award of two promotions there had been one more promotion, the increase is shown in a year when the awardee was sent on an expedition or he received some favour. For example, Maha Singh had a rank of 2000/1500 in the second regnal year, Jahangir gave him a rise of 500/500 in the seventh year, making the asl-o-isafa, 3000/2000. Obviously in

this case, a raise of 500 swar is missing between the second and the seventh years. The missing promotion is shown in the fifth year when Maha Singh was favoured with a flag and was sent against Bandur-garh. Such cases are few and they are discussed in the references.

In the year of the death of the mansabdars, their mansabs are shown only in the cases where their sons did not get promotions. For example, Ram Chand Bundela's mansab is shown in the year of his death because his successor, Bharat Bundela, got the rank after few years of his death but the rank of Rai Sal is not shown in the year of his death because his son Girdhar got the rank in the same year. In the case of a mansabdar who got more than one promotion in a year, his higher mansab is shown in the table.

There are some mansabdars who are shown in the Table only in one year because of the absence of information about them for the preceding and succeeding years. In some cases if the mansabdars rebelled but were pardoned and their mansab restored, their mansab position is not disturbed but in the case of a mansabdar who rebelled and another person of the same family was recognised as his successor, the mansab of the rebel is not shown in the Table. For example, the mansab of Raja Surajmal is not shown in the Table for the last two years of his life because his brother, Jagat Singh, got a mansab at the time of his rebellion. On the contrary the mansab of Ram Chand Bundela is shown in the Table although he too had rebelled, but was later pardoned by Jahangir.

The mansabs of individual Maratha mansabdars, except Jadun Kaeth, are not available but Shahnawaz has given consolidated mansabs

of the Marathas as 24000/10000 for the rest of the Maratha Mansabdars.

The Mansabdars of Baglana and Khandesh are shown in 'others' group.

The gwar ranks are shown only when we have explicit information about them.

It is not claimed that the Table is exhaustive and there is every possibility of some Mansabs escaping the notice of the author. The Table is not compiled on an foolproof data. There is a possibility of several omissions on account of the lack of information but such omissions are in the lower ranks and their impact would be marginal on the results. The Table can, however, serve as a model.

Name of Mansabdars	Main group	Sub-group	Ranks 1595	Ranks at the death of Akbar
1. Raja Man Singh	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	5000	7000/6000
2. Raja Jaganmuth	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	2500	5000
3. Mirza Raja Bhao Singh Kachhwaha	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	1000/500
4. Raja Maha Singh	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	2000/300
5. Raja Raj Singh, Harwar	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	900	4000
6. Madhava Singh	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	1500	3000/2000
7. Mirza Raja Jal Singh Kachhwaha	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	-
8. Raja Ram Das, Narwal	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	-
9. Narain Das	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	-
10. Ramchand/Karam Chand	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	-
11. Saket Singh	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	1600/300
12. Pratap Singh	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	1000/500
13. Jagat Singh	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	900	-
14. Chattrasal	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	-
15. Salhad	Kachhwaha	Rajawat	-	700/400
16. Raj Sal Dabari	Kachhwaha	Shalchawat	1250	2500/1250
17. Raja Giridhar	Kachhwaha	Shalchawat	-	-
18. Raj Manohar	Kachhwaha	Shalchawat	-	-
19. Raj Prithi Chand	Kachhwaha	Shalchawat	-	-
20. Ram Das Kachhwaha	Kachhwaha	Others	500	2000/200
21. Raja Udal Singh	Rathor	Jodhpur	1000	-
22. Raja Suraj Singh	Rathor	Jodhpur	-	-
23. Maharaja Gaj Singh	Rathor	Jodhpur	-	-
24. Karam Sen Rathor	Rathor	Jodhpur	-	-
25. A brother of Gaj Singh Rathor	Rathor	Jodhpur	-	-
26. Raja Kishan Singh	Rathor	Kishangarh	-	-
27. Jag Mal	Rathor	Kishangarh	-	-
28. Nathu Mal	Rathor	Kishangarh	-	-
29. Raj Rai Singh	Rathor	Blkaner	4000	4000
30. Raj Daleep Singh	Rathor	Blkaner	500	500
31. Raj Suraj Singh	Rathor	Blkaner	-	-
32. Keshav Das Naru	Rathor	Narta	-	-
33. Rana Karna Singh	Stodla	Newar	-	-
34. Rana Shankar	Stodla	Newar	-	-
35. Man Singh s/Shankar	Stodla	Newar	-	-
36. Raj Durga	Stodla	Others	1500	1500
37. Raj Chand	Stodla	Others	-	-
38. Raval Bhim	Bhatti	Jalsalmer	500	500

Jahangir's Regnal Years

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1.	7000/6000	7000/6000	7000/6000	7000/6000	7000/6000	7000/6000
2.	5000/3000	5000/3000	5000/3000	died.		
3.	1500/500	1500/500	2000/1000	2000/2000	2000/2000	2000/2000
4.	2000/300	2000/1500	2000/1500	2000/1500	2500/1500	2500/1500
5.	4000	4000	4000	4000	4000	4000
6.	3000/2000	-	-	-	-	-
7.	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	-	-	-	-	-	-
9.	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.	-	-	-	2000/1500	2000/1500	2000/1500
11.	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	-	-	-	-	-	-
13.	-	-	-	-	-	-
14.	-	-	-	-	-	-
15.	-	-	-	-	-	-
16.	3000/1250	3000/1250	3000/1250	3000/1250	3000/1250	3000/1250
17.	-	-	-	-	-	-
18.	-	1000/600	1000/600	1000/600	1000/600	1000/600
19.	-	-	-	-	-	-
20.	3000/200	3000/200	3000/200	3000/200	3000/200	3000/200
21.	-	-	-	-	-	-
22.	-	-	3000/2000	4000/2000	4000/2000	4000/2000
23.	-	-	-	-	-	-
24.	-	-	-	-	-	-
25.	-	-	-	-	-	-
26.	-	1000/500	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000
27.	-	-	-	-	-	-
28.	-	-	-	-	-	-
29.	5000/3000	5000/3000	5000/3000	5000/3000	5000/3000	died
30.	500	500	500	500	500	1500/1000
31.	-	-	-	-	-	-
32.	1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000
33.	-	-	-	-	-	-
34.	-	2500/1000	2500/1000	2500/1000	2500/1000	2500/1000
35.	-	-	-	-	-	-
36.	4000	-	-	-	-	-
37.	-	700	700	700	700	700
38.	500	500	500	500	500	500

<u>Jahangir's Regnal Years</u>						
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
1. 7000/6000	7000/6000	Died	-	-	-	
2. -	-	-	-	-	-	
3. 2000/2000	2000/2000	4000/3000	4000/3000	4000/3000	5000/3000	
4. 3000/2000	3000/2000	3500/2000	3500/2000	4000/3000	Died	
5. 4000	4000	4000	Died	-	-	
6. -	-	-	-	-	-	
7. -	-	-	-	1000/1000	1000/1000	
8. -	-	-	1000/400	1000/500	1500/700	
9. -	-	-	-	-	-	
10. 2000/1500	2000/1500	2000/1500	2000/1500	2000/1500	2000/1500	
11. -	-	-	-	-	-	
12. -	-	-	-	-	-	
13. -	-	-	-	-	-	
14. -	-	-	-	-	-	
15. -	-	-	-	-	-	
16. 3000/1250	3000/1250	3000/1250	Died	-	-	
17. -	-	-	800/800	800/800	800/800	
18. 1000/600	1000/800	1000/800	1000/800	Died	-	
19. -	-	-	-	500/300	500/300	
20. 3000/200	3000/200	-	-	-	-	
21. -	-	-	-	-	-	
22. 4000/2000	4000/2000	5000/3000	5000/3300	5000/3300	5000/3300	
23. -	-	-	-	-	-	
24. -	-	800/250	1000/300	1000/300	1000/300	
25. -	-	-	-	-	-	
26. 2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1500	3000/1500	-	-	
27. -	-	-	-	-	-	
28. -	-	-	-	-	-	
29. -	-	-	-	-	-	
30. 2000/1000	executed	-	-	-	-	
31. 500/500	1000/700	1000/700	1000/700	1000/700	1000/700	
32. 1500/1000	1500/1000	2000/1000	2000/1200	2000/1200	2000/1400	
33. -	-	-	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000	
34. 2500/1000	2500/1000	2500/1000	2500/1000	3000/2000	3000/2000	
35. -	-	-	-	-	-	
36. -	-	-	-	-	-	
37. 700	700	700	700	700	700	
38. 500	500	500	500	Died	-	

Jahangir's Regnal Years

	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
1.	-	-	-	-	-
2.	-	-	-	-	-
3.	5000/3000	5000/3000	5000/3000	died	-
4.	-	-	-	-	-
5.	-	-	-	-	-
6.	-	-	-	-	-
7.	1000/1000	1000/1000	1000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000
8.	1500/700	1500/700	1500/700	1500/700	1500/700
9.	-	-	-	-	-
10.	2000/1500	2000/1500	-	-	-
11.	-	-	-	-	-
12.	-	-	-	-	-
13.	-	-	-	-	-
14.	-	-	-	-	-
15.	-	-	-	-	-
16.	-	-	-	-	-
17.	1000/800	1000/800	1000/800	1200/900	2000/1500
18.	-	-	-	-	-
19.	700/450	700/450	died	-	-
20.	-	-	-	-	-
21.	-	-	-	-	-
22.	5000/3300	died	-	-	-
23.	-	3000/2000	3000/2000	4000/3000	4000/3000
24.	1000/300	1000/300	1000/300	1000/300	1000/300
25.	-	500/250	500/250	500/250	500/250
26.	-	-	-	-	-
27.	-	500/225	500/225	500/225	500/225
28.	-	500/225	-	-	-
29.	-	-	-	-	-
30.	-	-	-	-	-
31.	2000/2000	2000/2000	2000/2000	2000/2000	2000/2000
32.	2000/1400	2000/1400	2000/1400	2000/1400	-
33.	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000
34.	died	-	-	-	-
35.	1000/500	1000/600	1500/800	-	-
36.	-	-	-	-	-
37.	700	700	700	700	700
38.	-	-	-	-	-

Jahangir's Regnal Years

	XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII
1.	-	-	-	-	-
2.	-	-	-	-	-
3.	-	-	-	-	-
4.	-	-	-	-	-
5.	-	-	-	-	-
6.	-	-	-	-	-
7.	3000/1400	3000/1400	3000/1400	3000/1400	4000/2500
8.	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000
9.	-	-	-	-	2000
10.	-	-	-	-	-
11.	-	-	-	-	-
12.	-	-	-	-	-
13.	-	-	-	-	-
14.	-	-	-	-	1500/1000
15.	-	-	-	-	-
16.	-	-	-	-	-
17.	died	-	-	-	-
18.	-	-	-	-	-
19.	-	-	-	-	-
20.	-	-	-	-	-
21.	-	-	-	-	-
22.	-	-	-	-	-
23.	5000/4000	5000/4000	5000/4000	5000/4000	5000/5000
24.	1000/300-	1000/300	1000/300	1000/300	1000/300
25.	500/250	500/250	500/250	500/250	500/250
26.	-	-	-	-	-
27.	500/225	500/225	500/225	500/225	500/225
28.	-	-	-	-	-
29.	-	-	-	-	-
30.	-	-	-	-	-
31.	2000/2000	2000/2000	2000/2000	2000/2000	3000/2000
32.	-	-	-	-	-
33.	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000
34.	-	-	-	-	-
35.	-	-	-	-	-
36.	-	-	-	-	-
37.	700	700	700	700	700
38.	-	-	-	-	-

Name	Main Group	sub-group	1595	At the death of Akbar.
39. Rawal Kalyan	Bhatti	Jaisalmer	-	-
40. Raja Ram Chand	Bundela	Orcha	500	500
41. Maharaja Bir Singh	Bundela	Orcha	-	-
42. Jhajhar Singh	Bundela	Orcha	-	-
43. Pahar Singh	Bundela	Orcha	-	-
44. Bharat	Bundela	Orcha	-	-
45. Rai Bhoj	Hada	Bundi	900	1000
46. Ratan, Sarbuland Rai	Hada	Bundi	-	-
47. Hirday Narain	Hada	Bundi	-	-
48. Raja Basu	Himachal	Mau/Nurpur	-	1500
49. Raja Suraj Mal s/o Basu	Himachal	Mau/Nurpur	-	-
50. Raja Jagat Singh s/o Basu	Himachal	Mau/Nurpur	-	-
51. Debi Chand	Himachal	Gwalior	-	-
52. Roop Chand	Himachal	Gwalior	-	-
53. Nathumal	Himachal	Manjholi	-	-
54. Sangram	Himachal	Jammu	-	-
55. Raja Man Singh	Himachal	Others	-	-
56. Raja Pratap Bharjiv	Others	Baglana	-	3000
57. Raja Bhim Narain	Others	Gadhi Khandesih	-	-
58. Raja Shiam Singh	Others	Tanur	-	1000
59. Ani Ray Singh Dalan	Others	Bargujar	-	-
60. Raja Sarangdev	Others	Others	-	-
61. Raja Nos Afzon	Others	Kharagpur	-	-
62. Udaiji Ram	Dakkhani	Bharamin	-	-
63. Jadun Rao Kaeth	Dakkhani	Maratha	-	-
64. Jadun Rao Kaeth's Family.	Dakkhani	Maratha	-	-

	<u>Jahangir's Regnal Years</u>					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
39.	-	-	-	-	-	-
40.	500	500	500	500	500	500
41.	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000/2000	4000/2000
42.	-	-	-	-	-	-
43.	-	-	-	-	-	-
44.	-	-	-	-	-	-
45.	1000	1000 died	-	-	-	-
46.	-	-	1500/1250	1500/1250	1500/1250	1500/1250
47.	-	-	-	-	-	-
48.	3500	3500	3500	3500	3500	4000
49.	-	-	-	-	-	-
50.	-	-	-	-	-	-
51.	-	-	-	-	-	-
52.	-	-	-	-	-	-
53.	-	-	-	-	-	-
54.	-	-	-	-	-	-
55.	-	-	-	-	-	-
56.	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	3000
57.	-	-	-	-	-	-
58.	1500/1200	1500/1200	1500/1200	1500/1200	1500/1200	1500/1200
59.	-	-	-	-	-	-
60.	-	-	-	-	-	-
61.	-	-	-	-	-	-
62.	-	-	-	-	-	-
63.	-	-	-	-	-	-
64.	-	-	-	-	-	-

<u>Jahangir's Regnal Years</u>					
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
39. -	-	-	-	2000/1000	2000/1000
40. 500	-	-	-	-	-
41. 4000/2200	4000/2200	4000/2200	4000/2900	4000/2900	4000/2900
42. -	-	-	-	-	-
43. -	-	-	-	-	-
44. -	-	-	-	-	-
45. -	-	-	-	-	-
46. 1500/1250	1500/1250	1500/1250	2000/1500	2000/1500	2000/1500
47. -	-	-	-	-	-
48. 4000	4000	-	-	-	-
49. -	-	-	-	2000/2000	2000/2000
50. -	-	-	-	-	-
51. -	-	-	-	-	-
52. -	-	-	-	-	-
53. -	-	1500/1100	2000/1200	-	-
54. -	-	-	-	-	-
55. -	-	-	1000/800	1500/1000	-
56. 3000	3000	3000	3000	3000	4000
57. -	-	-	-	-	1000/500
58. 2000/1200	2000/1200	2000/1200	2500/1400	2500/1400	-
59. -	-	-	-	died 1000/400	1500/500
60. -	-	-	-	-	-
61. -	-	-	-	-	-
62. -	-	-	-	-	3000/1500
63. -	-	-	-	-	-
64. -	-	-	-	-	-

<u>Jahangir's Regnal Years</u>					
	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
39.	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000
40.	-	-	-	-	-
41.	4000/2900	4000/2900	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000
42.	-	-	-	-	-
43.	-	-	-	-	-
44.	-	600/400	600/400	600/400	1500/1000
45.	-	-	-	-	-
46.	2000/1500	2500/1500	2500/1500	2500/1500	2500/1500
47.	-	-	900/600	-	-
48.	-	-	-	-	-
49.	2000/2000	-	died	-	-
50.	1000/500	1000/500	1000/500	1000/500	1000/500
51.	-	-	1500/500	-	-
52.	-	-	-	1000/400	1000/400
53.	-	-	-	-	-
54.	-	1000/500	1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000
55.	-	-	-	-	-
56.	4000	4000	4000	4000	4000
57.	-	-	-	-	-
58.	-	-	-	-	-
59.	1500/500	1500/500	1500/500	1500/500	1500/500
60.	-	700/300	800/400	800/400	1500/500
61.	-	-	-	-	-
62.	3000/1500	3000/1500	3000/1500	3000/1500	3000/1500
63.	-	-	-	5000/5000	5000/5000
64.	-	-	-	19000/10000	19000/10000

<u>Jahangir's Regnal Years</u>				
XVIII	XIX	XX	XXI	XXII
39. 2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000
40. -	-	-	-	-
41. 5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000	died
42. 2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000	2000/1000	4000/4000
43. -	-	-	-	2000/1200
44. 1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000	2500/2000
45. -	-	-	-	-
46. 2500/1500	2500/1500	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000
47. -	-	-	-	-
48. -	-	-	-	-
49. -	-	-	-	-
50. 1000/500	1000/500	1000/500	1000/500	3000/2000
51. -	-	-	-	-
52. 1000/400	-	-	-	-
53. -	-	-	-	-
54. 1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000	1500/1000
55. -	-	-	-	-
56. 4000	4000	4000	4000	4000
57. -	-	-	-	-
58. -	-	-	-	-
59. 1500/500	1500/500	1500/500	1500/500	1500/500
60. 1500/600	1500/600	1500/600	1500/600	1550/600
61. -	-	-	-	1500/700
62. 3000/1500	4000/4000	4000/4000	4000/4000	4000/4000
63. 5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000	5000/5000=	5000/5000
64. 19000/10000	19000/10000	19000/10000	19000/10000	19000/10000

REFERENCES

1. Raja Man Singh: 5000/Ain; 7000/6000; A.N. 111/839; Tuzuk, 1/266. Hawkins, Early Travels in India, p. 98, places him among the mansabdars of 5000. Though Jahangir expressed his unhappiness over Man Singh's conduct but he never reduced his rank. On the other hand he went out of the way to please Man Singh. See Tuzuk, Vol.I, PP.142,155, 170. Hawkin's list of mansabdars is not dependable. For Hawkins' list see Abdul Aziz, The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army, 1972, Delhi, pp. 119-123.
2. Raja Jagannath: 2500, Ain; 5000, A.N. 111/786; 5000/3000, Tuzuk 1/156, M.U. 1/520.
3. Mirza Raja Bhao Singh: 1000/500, A.N. 111/837; 1500/500 Tuzuk, 1/24; 2000/1000 Ibid., 1/140, M.U. 111/360; 4000/3000 Tuzuk 1/268; Ibid., 372; died, Ibid., 11/218.
4. Raja Maha Singh: The ranks of Maasir do not tally with Tuzuk and Iqbalnama and therefore they are ignored. 2000/300. A.N. 111/839, Tuzuk 1/17; 2000/1500, Ibid., 1/111; 3000/200. Ibid. 217; 300/2000, Ibid., 266; 4000/3000 Ibid., 328; An increase of 500/500 was made in the seventh year making asl-o-irafa, 3000/2000. Maha Singh thus got an increase of 500 sat between the second and the seventh years. The increase has been mentioned in the table in the fifth year when he was given a flag and was sent against Bandugarh.
5. Raja Raj Singh, Narwar: 900, Ain; 4000 A.N. 111/839; M.U. 11/172; died, Tuzuk 1/300-301.
6. Madhava Singh: 1500, Ain; 3000/2000 A.N. 111/820, Tuzuk, 1/17.
7. Mirza Raja Jai Singh: 1000/1000 Tuzuk 1/389; M.U. 111/568; 2000/1000 Tuzuk 11/218, 3000/1400 Ibid. 257; Jahangir's farman, May 1627, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
8. Ram Das, Narwar: 1000/400 Tuzuk 1/301, M.U. 11/172; 1000/500 Ibid. 335; 1500/700 Ibid., 418; 2000/1000 Ibid., 11/256.

9. Narain Das: 2000 Nensi, Marwar re paragana re Vigat 11/492-93.
This entry has been placed in the Table with great hesitation. Narain Das served under Jahangir from his early reign but his mansab is not recorded in the Persian histories consulted by me. Since Nensi's work is otherwise reliable, the mansab is mentioned in the last year of Jahangir.
10. Ram Chand/Karn Chand: 2000/1500, Tuzuk 1/156, M.U. 1/516.
11. Sakat Singh: 1600/300, A.N. 111/837.
12. Pratap Singh: 1000, A.N. 111/837.
13. Jagat Singh: 900, Ain.
14. Chatra Sal: 1500/1000 M.U. 111/321.
15. Salhadi: 700/400 A.N. 111/837.
16. Rai Sal Darbari: 1250 Ain; 2500/1250 A.N. 111, 3000, Tuzuk 1/17.
Rai Sal, according to Shikhar Vansotpati 1, 21, was a mansabdar of 5000. A grant of a mansab of 5000 could not escape the notice of the contemporary writers. Jahangir gave him a rise of 500, as a mark of appreciation for his support at the time of his accession. In the reign of Jahangir he did not perform anything to merit the highest rank. It must be kept in mind that in the case of ramindars, holding the rank of 5000 or above, like Man Singh, Jagannath, Bhae Singh, Suraj Singh and Bir Singh Bundela, their successors got high mansabs ranging from 2000 to 4000 whereas Girdhar, the son of Rai Sal got only a rank of 800/800. It is thus obvious that Rai Sal did not get the rank of 5000. Rai Sal's death has been placed in the tenth year when his son got the mansab of 800/800.
17. Raja Girdhar: 800/800, Tuzuk 1/298; 1000/800, Ibid. 11/44-45; 1200/900, Ibid. 209; 2000/1500, Ibid. 252.
18. Rai Manohar: 1000/600, Tuzuk 1/112, M.U. 11/117; 1000/800 Ibid. 231.

19. Rai Prithi Chand: 500/300 Tuzuk 1/231; 700/450 Ibid. 11/26, death, Ibid. 155.

20. Ram Das Kachhwaha: 500, Ain, 2000/200, A.N. 111/837; 3000, Tuzuk 1/21; death, Ibid. 252. The author of Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin 1/240 writes that Jahangir gave him the rank of 5000 and the title of Raja Karn. I have not included Ram Das among the mansabdars of 5000. See the argument in the case of Rai Sal, op.cit. Moreover, Bhakkari's mansabs are not always correct. He writes that mansabs of Jagannath (pp. 1/219), Rai Durga (1/226) and Raj Singh (Ram Singh s/o Askarn) (1/233) were 3000, 2000 and 1000 respectively whereas the corresponding mansabs were 5000, 4000 and 4000 (see Table). It may also be added that Shahnawaz Khan who had consulted Zakhirat-ul-Khwanin did not mention the award of this mansab. Even the award of the title of Raja Karn is mentioned by Shahnawaz with distrust.

21. Raja Udai Singh: 1000, Ain.

22. Raja Suraj Singh: 3000/2000 Tuzuk 1/140-41; 4000/2000 M.U. 11/182; 5000/3000, Tuzuk 1/288; 5000/3300 Ibid. 301; death, Ibid. 11/99. After 1595 Akbarnama frequently mentions the name of Suraj Singh but his mansab is not mentioned. M.U. op.cit., says that he got a suitable (Barkhur) mansab at his father's death. See note.

23. Maharaja Gaj Singh: 3000/2000 Tuzuk 11/100, M.U. 11/224; 4000/3000 Tuzuk 1/215; 5000/4000, Ibid. 259; 5000/5000, M.U. 11/224.

24. Younger brother of Gaj Singh: 500/250, Tuzuk 11/100. It is presumed that he lived during the reign of Jahangir.

25. Karam Sen Rathore: 1000/300, Tuzuk 1/291.

26. Raj Kishan Singh: 1000/500, Tuzuk 1/128; 2000/1000, Ibid. 151; 2000/1500 Ibid. 260; 3000/1500 Ibid. 281; death, Ibid. 293. The rank at his death is included in the chart because his sons did not get the rank in the same year.

27. Jagmal: 500/225, Tuzuk 11/83.
28. Nathumal: 500/225, Tuzuk 11/83.
29. Rai Rai Singh: 4000, Ain; 5000, Tuzuk 1/49, M.U. 11/153. The entry in the account of the IV yr. that he had a rank of 4000/3000 is wrong because Jahangir describing his pardon after Khusrau's revolt, says, 'I ordered which he formerly held to be confirmed to him and his jagir to remain as it was'. Tuzuk 1/131. It obviously means that he retained the mansab of 5000.
30. Rai Daleep Singh: 500, Ain; 1500/1000, Tuzuk 1/229; 2000/1000 Asl-e-Irafa. Ibid; Tuzuk 1/229 suggests that Daleep had the rank of 1500/1000 before the seventh year; death Ibid. 259. Akbarnama and Ain refer to him by the name of Dalpat.
31. Rai Suraj Singh: 500/500, 1000/700 presumption on the basis of Tuzuk 1/259; 2000/2000 Ibid. 11/86; 3000/2000, M.U. 11/221.
32. Keshav Das Maru: 1500/1000, Tuzuk 1/21, 79, the entry p. 79, 1500/1500, is wrong because in the-ninth year his rank was 2000/1200; 2000/1200, Ibid. 1/390, the irafa of 200 swar has been added to his former rank.
33. Rana Karn: 5000/5000, Tuzuk, 1/28, M.U. 11/205.
34. Rana Shankar: 2500/1000-Tuzuk 1/112; 3000/2000 Ibid., 348, M.U. 11/187; death, Ibid. Tuzuk 11/18.
35. Man Singh: 1000/500, Tuzuk 11/18 has 2000/600 which is obviously wrong because in the account of the following year (p.86) Jahangir says that he promoted Man Singh to 1000/600. It can safely be presumed that his original rank was 1000/500 and an increase of 100 swar was made; 1500/800 Ibid., 165.
36. Rai Durga: 1500, Ain; 4000 Tuzuk 1/134.

37. Rai Chanda: 7000, M.U. 11/143. The mansab of 700 rat must have been given to him in the second year of Jahangir's reign after his father, Rai Durga's death, Tuzuk 1/134. Chanda must be fairly old at the ^{time of his} death of his father, who died at the age of eighty two. M.U. 11/143.
38. Rawal Bhim: 500, Ain.
39. Rawal Kalyan: 3000/1000, Tuzuk, 1/333.
40. Raja Ram Chanda: 500, Ain.
41. Maharaja Bir Singh: 3000. Tuzuk 1/24, M.U. 11/197; 3000/2000 Tuzuk 1/204; 4000/2000, Ibid., Jahangir's figures are corrected on-the basis of his own entry on 1/231 and M.U. 11/198; 4000/2200, Tuzuk 1/231; 4000/2900, Ibid., 281; 5000/5000 Ibid., 11/159.
42. Raja Jhujhar Singh: 2000/1000, Tuzuk, 11/253, Jahangir says in this entry that he promoted Yograaj s/o Bir Singh to 2000/1000. Yograaj was the grandson of Bir Singh. It appears that this entry is for Jhujhar Singh, 4000/4000, M.U. 11/215.
43. Raja Pahar Singh: 2000/1200, M.U. 11/256.
44. Raja Bharat Bundela: 600/400 Tuzuk, 11/88; 1500/1000 Ibid., 250; 2500/2000, M.U. 11/213.
45. Rai Bhoj: 900, Ain; 1000, death M.U. 11/141.
46. Ratan, Sarbuland Rai: 1500/1250, 2000/1500, Tuzuk, 1/140, 299. After reducing the izafa from asli-o-izafa, 2000/1500, we get his earlier mansab 1500/1250. It must have been awarded to him along with the title of Sarbuland in the beginning of the third year, soon after the death of his father, Rai Bhoj, 5000/5000, M.U. 11/205.
47. Hirday Narain Hada: 900/600 Tuzuk, 11/191.

48. Raja Basu: 1500, 3500, Tuzuk, 1/46, M.U. 11/160; 4000, Tuzuk 1/200; death, Ibid., 252, M.U. 11/160.
49. Raja Surajmal: 2000/2000, Tuzuk 1/337; death, Ibid., 11/166. The mansab of the last two years when he was in rebellion and his brother Jagat Singh was given a mansab of 1000/500 are not included in the table.
50. Raja Jagat Singh: 1000/500 Tuzuk 11/75, M.U. 11/238; 3000/2000, M.U. 11/238-39.
51. Debi Chand: 1500/500, Tuzuk 11/155.
52. Roop Chand: 1000/400 Tuzuk 11/191; he was given this rank in the XV year but in the chart the rank is shown from XVI yr. because the rank of Debi Chand of Gwalior who perhaps died in the same year is shown in the chart in the XV yr. His account is available till the XVIII yr. See Tuzuk 11/187, 191, 289.
53. Nathumal: 1500/1100, 2000/1200, Tuzuk 1/296.
54. Sangram: 1000/500, Tuzuk 11/88; 1500/1000, Ibid., 175.
55. Raja Man: 1000/800, 1500/1000, Tuzuk 1/326.
56. Raja Pratap Bharjiv: 3000, A.N. 111/770; 4000, Tuzuk 1/411.
57. Raja Bhim Narain: 1000/500, Tuzuk 1/388, see Also Ibid., p. 379, n.1.
58. Raja Shiem Singh: 1000, A.N. 111/832, 1500/1200 Tuzuk 1/77; 2000/1200 Ibid., 222; 2500/1400 Ibid., 281; death, Ibid., 344.
59. Ani Rai Singh Dalam: 1000/400, 1500/500, Tuzuk, 1/373, Maasir-ul-Umara, vol. ii, p. 223 has given different ranks. According to it Bir Narain Barguwar should also be included in the list of officers of above 500. Since Maasir's account could not be confirmed, it has been ignored.

60. Raja Sarangdev: 700/300, Tuzuk 11/83. It mentions his rank as 700/30 which seems to be a mistake. It has been mentioned in the table as 700/300; 800/400, Ibid., 182; 1500/600 Ibid., 250.
61. Raja Ror Afron: 1500/700, M.U. 11/218.
62. Udaji Ram: 3000/1500 Tuzuk 1/398; 4000/4000 M.U. 1/142. Though a Brahmin, he is included in the table because like the Rajputs and Marathas he had a local base and exercised great influence in the Deccan.
63. Jadun Rai Kaeth: 5000/5000; M.U. 1/520.
64. Jadun Rai Kaeth group (excluding Jadun): 19000/10000, M.U. 1/520.

APPENDIX BJAHANGIR'S MOTHER

The controversy regarding the identification of Jahangir's mother must cease after the conclusive evidence of Jahangir himself, which has been overlooked by the scholars, that he was not related to Bharahmall's daughter except that she was 'in the house' of his father. While explaining his relationship with Man Singh, Jahangir writes that Man Singh 'was one of the greatest and most trusted noblemen of my father, and had obtained alliance with this (Jahangir's) illustrious family, inasmuch as his aunt had been in my father's house, and I had married his sister, and Khusrau and his sister Sultan-un-Nisa Begum, the latter of whom is my eldest child, were born of her'.¹ Had Man Singh's paternal aunt, that is Bharahmall's daughter, been Jahangir's mother, he would have mentioned it in the first instance, specially when he was establishing his close relationship with Man Singh. Moreover, he would not have spoken so impolitely and casually about his mother that she was in his father's house i.e. his father's wife.

The arguments and counter arguments regarding the identification of Jahangir's mother can be read in the correspondence of Beveridge and Shiamal Das, published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.² There is no contemporary evidence to suggest

1. Tuzuk, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 15

2. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888, Vol. LVII, Part I, pp. 71-75.

that this Kachhwaha lady was called Jodha Bai and that she was Jahangir's mother, nor is there any sense in Beveridge's argument that 'making over Daniyal to this Rani (wife of Raja Bharammall) seems to imply that the mother of Daniyal was related to her, it might also strengthen the tradition that the Rani's daughter was Jahangir's mother'.¹ Jahangir clearly writes that Daniyal's mother was a concubine² and therefore, Bharammall's daughter could not be Daniyal's mother. Moreover, the fact that Bhagwant Das gave his daughter, Shah Begum, in marriage to Saleem should not be ignored. If we accept that Saleem was the son of Bhagwant Das' sister, Shah Begum and Saleem would be first cousins. It is highly unlikely that Bhagwant Das would have agreed to a marriage of his daughter with her first cousin. Moreover, Akbar himself abhorred the idea of cousin marriage. He used to say that it was the legacy of the days of Adams.³ This can be said without hesitation that Jahangir was not the son of Bhagwant Das's sister, married to Akbar in 1562.

The earliest reference to Jahangir's mother is to be found in A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India.⁴ It says that Jahangir was the son of Ruqiyya Begum, the daughter of Mirza Hindal. Jahangir's references to the Begum are so casual that she could not be his mother. If Jahangir was her son, the historians of Akbar and Jahangir could mention this fact with pride. The second reference to Jahangir's mother is in Khulasat-ut-Twarikh

1. Beveridge, Akbarnama, Vol. iii, p. 543,2.

2. Tuzuk, p. 34.

3. A.N., Vol. iii, pp. 245,451.

4. A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, p. 41.

of Sujau Rai Bhendari¹ which is a much later source.

A study of Abul Fa'l's and Jahangir's references to the births of children in the royal family may be useful in determining the identity of Jahangir's mother. Following is the Table of such references:

TABLE

Sl. No.	Child	Father	Identification of Mother		
			Akbarnama	Tuzuk	R.B
1.	Hasan	Akbar	..	11/235	-
2.	Husain	"	..	11/235	-
3.	Saleem	"	--	11/343	-
4.	Khanan	"	..	11/349 Concubine	1/2
5.	Murad	"	..	11/353 -do-	1/34
6.	Daniyal	"	..	11/372 -do-	1/34
7.	Aram Bano	"	..	111/440 Bibi Daulat Shad	1/36
8.	Sultan-un Nisa Saleem	D/O Bhagwant Das		D/O Bhagwant Das	1/15
9.	Khusrau	Saleem	...	111/523 D/O Bhagwant Das	1/15
10.	Iffat Bano	" D/O Saeed Ghakker	111/536	-	-
11.	Parwar	" D/O Khwaja Hasan	111/568	D/O cousin of Sain Khan Koka	1/18
12.	Behar Bano	" D/O Keshava Das	111/581	Karamsi	1/19
13.	Daughter	" D/O Mota Raja	111/581	-	-
14.	Son	Murad D/O Khan Aram	111/581	-	-
15.	Khurram	Saleem D/O Mota Raja	111/603	D/O Mota Raja Jagat Gosain	1/19
16.	Daughter	" D/O Abhay Kashmiri	111/609	-	-
17.	Saadat Bano	Daniyal D/O Sultan Khwaja	111/613	-	-
18.	Daughter	Saleem D/O Abdullagh Baluch	111/662	-	-
19.	Daughter	" D/O Ibrahim Mirza	111/671	-	-
20.	Son	Daniyal D/O Quli Khan	111/729	-	-
21.	Son	Saleem D/O Mota Raja	111/733	-	-
22.	Son	Daniyal D/O Khan Khana	111/801	-	-
23.	Son	Daniyal D/O Dalpat Ujjainia	111/826	-	-
24.	Shukrun Nisa	Akbar	-	Bibi Daulat Shad	1/36
25.	Jahandar	Saleem	.	Concubine	1/20
26.	Shahryar	Saleem	-	Concubine	1/20

The Table¹ clearly establishes that Abul Fazl has not given the names of the mothers of Akbar's children but he has identified the mothers of the children of Akbar's sons. Jahangir has only mentioned those of his brothers and sisters, sons and daughters who attained adulthood. He identifies the mothers of those children who were born out of royal wedlock and for the rest, he just says that they were born to one or the other of the royal concubines. Jahangir does not mention the birth of his brothers Hasan and Husain who died in infancy. About his two sisters Shukrun Nisa and Aram Bano Begam he says that they were born to Bibi Daulat Shad. About his sister, Shahzada Khanam, and his two brothers Murad and Daniyal, he says that they were born to the royal concubines, and similarly about his sons Jahandar and Shahryar he says that they were born to concubines.² Thus, it can be concluded that there was no reservation about the identification of the mothers of royal children who belonged to the 'noble' families and were duly married. It was only in the case of a concubine mother that her identity was scrupulously concealed. It is thus possible that Jahangir's mother who has not been identified by any contemporary source, was also a concubine like the mothers of his brothers.

1. It is not a complete list.

2. Tuzuk, vol. i, pp. 76, 78, 230; Vol.ii, p. 68.

APPENDIX CSOME CONTROVERSIES1. Role of Kachhwahas in Gujarat and Mewar.

Man Singh was the eldest son of Bhagwant Das. Little is known about his childhood. Dr. R.N. Prasad has produced a well-documented account of the life and achievements of Man Singh and also his contribution to the art and architecture of his times in his Raja Man Singh of Amber. Among Man Singh's biographers Bhakkari, Shahnawaz, Kewal Ram, Muhammad Husain Azad and Saiyyed Ahmad have mainly relied upon Akbarnama and other Persian sources, and Devi Prasad, and Hari Narain have largely borrowed from the Rajput sources but Prasad has supplied, without sifting, almost all the existing information on the subject from the classical, vernacular and the European languages. He has taken great pains in the collection of this information. Prasad's monograph is an important contribution to the Mughal history and it is hoped that the scholars would take keener interest in the study of important nobles who have played a significant role in the history of their times.

Without belittling the importance of Prasad's contribution, it has to be mentioned that it suffers from some fundamental defects. The learned author did not take his notes very carefully and has often misrepresented the sources, he has not distinguished between a contemporary source like Akbarnama and a later source like Swanah Akbari, and has quoted from the Swanah without explaining the reasons of ignoring the evidence of Abul Fazl. He has cited contradictory evidences without giving his own analysis. He has accepted some Rajput and European accounts without exercising the principle of caution, which has resulted in grave blunders. Prasad's

chronology is poor and he has unwittingly corrupted the proper nouns by writing Hasi for Haji and Qulin for Quli; etc. The book, however, makes an interesting reading.

On the basis of Kachhwaha Vansavali, and Farzand Daulat ~~Prasad~~ Maharaja Sri Man Singhji, Prasad has described the early childhood of Man Singh as under:

"Kuar Man Singh, eldest son of Raja Bhagwant Das, was born on Sunday, Paus Budi 13, V.S. 1607, i.e. 21st December, 1550 A.D. His mother's name was Rani Bhagoti (Bhagwati) Pawar, the chief wife of Raja Bhagwant Das. On the birth of the Kuar, the astrologers predicted a brilliant and prosperous career for him. But they also sounded an ominous note, for they informed Raja Bharamal that on account of the influence of some evil stars, the boy was likely to fall in trouble. They further advised the Raja that in order to ward off the danger, special arrangements for the Kuar's stay should be made at a place away from Amber for a period of twelve years. On the advice of the astrologers, Raja Bharamal, the grand-father of the Kuar, got a palace built for Man Singh at Muasamabad (forty miles south of Amber).

" Kuar Man Singh was sent to the new palace at Muasamabad under the guardianship of his mother. A band of one hundred boys to serve as friends and play-mates accompanied the Kuar. Rani Bhagoti made suitable arrangements for the education of the Kuar. The latter was given a special training in the arts of archery horse-riding and sword-fighting. By the time Kuar attained the age of twelve, he obtained high proficiency in military training.

Though still a boy, he showed all traits of an accomplished soldier.

"In 1562, Kuar Man Singh returned to Amber and his arrival coincided with the marriage of the daughter of Raja Bharamal with Akbar".¹

Like the stories of snakes protecting the babies who later achieved fame, the story narrated by Prasad is also a product of somebody's fertile imagination. Prasad would have discovered the hollowness of the story if he had calculated the time gap between the birth of Man Singh (December 21, 1550) and his arrival at Agra to join the permanent imperial service on February 13, 1562.² Following the marriage of his aunt, Man Singh reached Agra shortly after his eleventh birthday. Surely in that age of superstition whose victim, according to the story, Bharamal was, he would not have allowed Man Singh to leave Muazzamabad before the completion of twelve years.

Man Singh came to Agra with his father in 1562 and was brought up in the court atmosphere. Man Singh's stay with his father at Agra, and with the Mughal army camps must have provided him with a rich experience and training. Man Singh's first opportunity to fight in a battle came in 1572, when he was twenty-two. In the beginning of the Gujarat campaign he was ordered by Akbar to pursue and capture the sons of Sher Khan Fauladi. The sons of Fauladi escaped without injury and Man Singh had to console himself

1. Prasad, Raja Man Singh of Amber, pp. 19-20.

2. A.N., vol. II, p. 158.

with the plunder of their baggage. Shortly after Man Singh missed another opportunity to show his merit when Akbar appointed him the leader of the vanguard before the battle of Sarnal. In his youthful enthusiasm he pushed ahead and lost contact with the main army and could not participate in the battle. Prasad's account (pp.27-33) of Akbar's conquest of Gujarat, suffers from several defects. He writes:

"While on his way to Gujarat when the imperial army arrived at the town of Disa which was a little south of Abu Road, Akbar, came to know that the sons of Sher Khan Pauladi, who held possession of Ahmadabad were going towards Idar which was only ten miles away from Khed-Brahma (near Bijapur in South-West) along with the harem and the troops. Akbar sent Kuar Man Singh with a well equipped army in pursuit of them. Man Singh pursued them vigorously but they fled away leaving their baggage behind. The Kuar rejoined the camp of Akbar at Pattan (the ancient capital of Gujarat) while the latter was halting there after conquering Ahmadabad on 20th December, 1572, and brought much plunder with him."

"Akbar was not satisfied with conquest of Ahmadabad alone. He wanted to conquer the port of Surat which was the abode and asylum of the rebel Afghans".

"In the meantime, on 23rd December 1572, news came from Broach (near Surat) that Ibrahim Hussain Mirza has murdered Bastan Khan Rumi, a person of distinction, who was coming to pay his respects and homage to the emperor. The emperor received this intelligence report at 9 o'clock at night and he at once made

preparations to start. He sent Shahbazz Khan Mir Bakshi, in all haste to recall to his side Raja Bhagwant Singh and the forces which had marched against Surat in advance."

" On 23rd December, 1572, the battle of Sarnal came to an end. Ibrahim Husain Mirza fled away from the battlefield and was hotly pursued by the imperialists for some distance."

" While Akbar was resting at Ahmadabad, news came to him that the rebels led by Mirza Muhammad Hussain and Hamzaban had strengthened the fort of Surat in Gujarat and contemplated evil action."

Prasad has erred at several places; relying on Abul Fasl, he has written that Ahmadabad was in the possession of Sher Khan Fauladi. It is obvious from the preceding and subsequent accounts of Abul Fasl himself and other contemporary writers that Ahmadabad was still held by Aitmad Khan, and Sher Khan, who had besieged the town, lifted the siege at the approach of the imperial army and went towards ^{Suvarashtra}. It is not true that 'the sons of Sher Khan Fauladi were going towards Idar along with the harem and the troops'. Abul Fasl writes that at Dasa intelligence came that Sher Khan 'had sent his sons, Muhammad Khan and Badar to Pattan to convey his family and goods to places of safety. They had now done so, and were proceeding to rejoin their father'.¹ It is obvious from the statement of Abul Fasl that Man Singh challenged

1. A.N. Vol.III, p. 6.

the sons of Sher Khan after they had secured places of safety for their family and treasure and were returning sons harem, sons treasure. Thus there was no scope for much plunder. It is also wrong to say that Man Singh joined the emperor at Pattan after the latter conquered Ahmadabad on 20th November, 1572. The expedition against the sons of Pauladi did not take long. Man Singh joined the emperor at Pattan some time between November 7 and November 13, 1572, the period of Akbar's stay at Pattan before the capitulation of Ahmadabad. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that Akbar left Pattan for Ahmadabad on November 13, 1572, and returned to Pattan after completion of the conquest of Gujarat on April 15, 1573. Prasad's contention that 'the port of Surat was the abode and asylum of the rebel Afghans' is also not correct because Surat was in the possession of a blue blooded Timuride, Muhammad Husain Mirza, and certainly the Mirza was not an Afghan. The Afghans of Gujarat, under the leadership of Sher Khan Pauladi, had strengthened themselves in Surath (Kathiawar). Moreover, it is highly unfair to call the Afghans 'rebels'. Their resistance to the Mughals cannot be equated to rebellion. Prasad and A.L. Srivastava have caused considerable confusion about the correct chronology of the events preceding the battle of Sarnal and the conquest of Surat -

(a) Prasad has placed the arrival of the news of the murder of Rumi Khan in the evening of December 23 and also of the battle on the same day. (b) A.L. Srivastava has placed the arrival of the news, Akbar's march from Baroda to Sarnal, the battle of Sarnal, his stay for the night there and his return to the camp at Baroda, all on December 24, 1572. However, the chronological order of these events with which the Kachhwahas were associated is as follows:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| (i) Akbar's arrival at Baroda. | Evening of December 21, 1572. |
| (ii) Bhagwant Das, Man Singh etc. sent to Surat. | Morning of December 22, 1572. |
| (iii) Arrival of the news of the murder of Rumi Khan and the passing of the Mirwas close to the camp. Shahbas Khan sent to recall Bhagwant Das, etc. | Near midnight of December 22, 1572. |
| (iv) Departure of Akbar against the Mirwas. | Midnight of December 22-23, 1572. |
| (v) Arrival of Bhagwant Das and Shahbas Khan at Samal. | Afternoon of December 23, 1572. |
| (vi) Battle of Samal | Evening of December 23, 1572. |
| (vii) Akbar's stay at Samal. | Night of December 23-24, 1572. |
| (viii) Akbar's departure from Samal and arrival at Baroda. | December 24, 1572. |

Prasad has quoted the evidence of a later work, Sunih-i-Akbari, that while Akbar was resting at Ahmadabad, news came to him that the Mirwas had strengthened the fort of Surat and the emperor marched with a large army to chastise them on December 31, 1572. This is actually the news that Akbar received on December 22, while he was at Baroda. There is no possibility of Akbar's 'resting in Ahmadabad' on December 31, because he had left Ahmadabad as early as December 2, 1572. In fact he left Baroda on December 31, 1572, for the conquest of Surat.¹

Before the second Gujarat expedition Akbar ordered Man Singh to go to collect the jagirdars of Kachhiwara and reach Gujarat by Malwa route. Before Man Singh could reach Ujjain, Akbar

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 4-16; Nizamuddin, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, vol. II, pp. 237-244; Badoni, Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh, vol. II, pp. 143; Shah Abu Turab Wali, Tarikh-i-Gujarat, pp. 61-64; Prasad, pp. 27-30; A.L. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. I, pp. 136-138.

had achieved victory in Gujarat. In 1574, Man Singh accompanied the emperor for the eastern expedition against Daud Khan. Man Singh seems to have parted company with the emperor at an early stage of the march on account of his grand-father's death. Prasad's account of the second Gujarat expedition and Akbar's march against Daud Khan in Bihar also suffer from several inaccuracies. He writes:

"The Mirzas though humbled were not completely crushed. When they heard the Emperor had gone back to his capital, they under the leadership of Muhammad Husain Mirza rose in rebellion. The Emperor again decided to march to Gujarat and actually left for Ahmadabad on 23rd August, 1573. Raja Bhagwant Das, Shujjat (Shuja'at) Khan and others were placed in charge of the harem which was to accompany the Emperor. But at that time, the Kuar (Man Singh) was not in the capital. He was resting and relaxing at his native place in Amber after hard exertions at Gujarat, Surat and Dungarpur in Rajputana. Kuar Man Singh was the trusted lieutenant of Akbar and therefore the latter, before starting for Gujarat for the second time, issued special orders to two of his generals - Muzaffar Khan at Malwa and Kuar Man Singh at Amber - directing them to march to Gujarat with their respective armies."

"After the receipt of the order from the Emperor, the Kuar at once started for Gujarat and met at Ujjain Muzaffar Khan, who was also proceeding to the same place. But in the meantime, Akbar had become victorious over his enemies at Gujarat in which the two rebel leaders named Muhammad Husain Mirza and Iftiyar-ul-Mulk (Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk) were slain. The Afghans took to their heels.

Since victory had been achieved, Akbar now felt that Kuar Man Singh's presence at Gujarat was not needed. He, therefore, sent orders to the Kuar and Muzaffar Khan not to proceed to Gujarat but meet him (the Emperor) at Fatehpur Sikri".

"The order for returning to the capital was received by the two generals on the wayThe Kuar along with the Kachhwaha forces returned to his fiefs in Amber.

"When Akbar started for the Eastern Provinces in order to suppress the rebellion of Daud Khan, he took with him a galaxy of trusted generals of whom Abul Fazl has named nineteen. Among them, the names of Raja Bhagwant Das and Kuar Man Singh occupy the first and the second place. The father and the son played an important part in suppressing the turbulent Afghans and the result was that Daud Khan fled towards Bengal."

Some mistakes have crept in the above account due to careless reading of the text of Akbarname and unfamiliarity with the style of Abul Fazl: (1) There is no evidence to suggest that Kunwar Man Singh was 'resting and relaxing' at Amber at the time of Akbar's departure for Gujarat. On the contrary there is every possibility of his being at Fatehpur at that time. Amber was on Akbar's route to Gujarat. Man Singh could have joined the emperor on his way and there was no need for Man Singh to go to Malwa and meet Muzaffar Khan at Ujjain before proceeding to Gujarat. Prasad could have avoided this mistake if he had read the text of Abul Fazl carefully. Abul Fazl writes that an order was issued 'that Kunwar Man Singh should collect the

fief holders of Kachhiwarah and quickly reach' Gujarat. Perhaps Prasad misread Kachhiwarah as Kachhwaha and consequently transformed the Kachhiwarah fief-holders into 'Kachhwaha forces'. Akbar had ordered Man Singh to go to Kachhiwarah and collect the jagirdars of that area and proceed with them and their contingents to Gujarat via Malwa. Similar orders were given to Muraffar Khan to collect the jagirdars of Malwa. This explains as to why the two officers met at Ujjain. (2) Referring to the defeat of Muhammad Husain Mirza and Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, Prasad writes that "the Afghans took to their heels". They were not Afghans. Muhammad Husain Mirza was a Mughal and Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk was an Abyssinian. (3) With regard to Akbar's expedition against Daud Khan of Bihar, Prasad has credited Bhagwant Das and Man Singh with playing an important part in the suppression of 'the turbulent Afghans' with the result "that Daud Khan fled towards Bengal". Prasad has taken too much liberty with the facts of history and has credited them with deeds they never performed. (4) Prasad has referred to a list of nineteen 'trusted generals' named by Abul Fasl and has added that Bhagwant Das and Man Singh occupied the first and the second places in the list. Abul Fasl has compiled such lists on other occasions too. These lists did not always contain the list of the 'trusted generals'. They also included the names of the emperor's personal friends, physicians, singers, painters and musicians. Heading the list of persons who accompanied the emperor on the march only meant that Bhagwant Das and Man Singh occupied an important position among his attendants and companions.¹

1. A.N., Vol.III, pp. 40-62, 82, 83; Badaoni, ii, pp. 164-165; Nizamuddin, ii, pp. 261-262.

In 1573, Akbar sent Man Singh to Rana Pratap on a diplomatic mission to bring him round to acknowledge Akbar's overlordship. Man Singh could not impress upon the Rana the advantages of such an alliance and returned disappointed. Equally disappointing was Akbar's venture of sending him at the head of five thousand horsemen to destroy the Rana once for all in 1576. In spite of winning the battle of Haldighati, Man Singh achieved little in Mewar. Akbar strongly censured him for the neglect of duty and for not permitting the soldiers to plunder and devastate the Rana's territory even when, on account of the lack of provisions, they were dying of hunger and disease. Modern historians, without exception, have written that the Rana had himself completely destroyed the crops and villages and had, on the penalty of death, ordered his subjects to retreat into the hills. It is evident from the accounts of Abul Fazl and Badauni that this order was not strictly followed. However, Akbar was keen to deploy the Kachhwahas against the Rana, and send Man Singh and his father Bhagwant Das together against the Rana several times but each time they achieved little and were consequently reprimanded by the emperor. Some of the Mughal officers began to doubt the sincerity of the Kachhwahas. When ^{Shahbox} Khan proceeded to attack the fort of the Kumbalgair, he sent back Man Singh and Bhagwant Das lest their soft attitude towards the Rana might delay the conquest of the fort. Akbar who had given several chances to them to prove their mettle in Rajasthan did not object to their being sent back. Man Singh returned to Ajmer after being sent back by Shahbox Khan. From Ajmer he came to the Punjab to join the emperor who was at that time (April, 1578) at Bhera. In the Punjab Man Singh was sent to pursue some Baluchi chiefs who had escaped from the imperial camp. But Man Singh could not catch them and annoyed the emperor

once again. In fact Man Singh earned more censures and reprimands than laurels in his early career. Man Singh is one of those remarkable persons who prospered in spite of early set backs. Man Singh could survive these successive failures not only because he belonged to a tribe whose services were always needed, but also because he had some personal qualities which endeared him to the emperor.

Prasad, without exercising the principle of sifting, has jumbled up the events of 1573 and 1586 and produced a fantastic story. He has quoted Jaipur Vansavali in his support. He writes:

"Before Kuar Man Singh proceeded to the North-West Frontier region of India, he successfully carried out an important assignment of Emperor Akbar. The Emperor ordered the Kuar to suppress the rebellion at Khichiwara. Man Singh at once proceeded from Amber in that direction with a strong contingent. On the way he suppressed and subdued the recalcitrant chiefs who dared to oppose him. Having established order in that region he set up military out posts in order to safeguard the interest of the Mughal Empire. When Kuar Man Singh reached the outskirts of Khichiwara, he was bitterly opposed by the local Sardars (chiefs) whom the Kuar defeated in open conflict. Much booty fell into his hands, a considerable part of which was sent to the Mughal Emperor.

"After his victory at Khichiwara, Kuar Man Singh marched towards Malwa and conquered the principality of Oad on the way. Kuar Man Singh established an efficient administration in Malwa

and stamped out all disaffection in that region. He sent an account of all his glorious deeds to the Emperor who was much satisfied at the achievement of Kuar Man Singh. He was pleased to confer the mansab of 3500 on the Kuar and issued a farman directing him to proceed towards Kabul".¹

The author of the Vansavali was not a professional historian. He has placed the events of the life of Man Singh without reference to chronology or location. Great skill is required for the sifting of information in Rajput sources. There are several such jumbings of events. The above story is presently examined as a typical case of Rajput historiography. This story relates to two different events from the life of Man Singh which have a time gap of thirteen years, and a space difference of over one thousand five hundred kilometers, which the author has very conveniently placed together to form a coherent story. The first part of the story relates to the events of August-September 1573 when Akbar was on his way to his second Gujarat campaign. He ordered Man Singh to proceed to Gujarat via Malwa and collect the jagirdars of Khachiwara (near Kota) on his way for the expedition. Accordingly, Man Singh went to Khachiwara and collected its jagirdars and their contingents. He had reached Ujjain when he received orders to return because Akbar had by that time successfully suppressed the rebellion in Gujarat.² The second

1. Prasad, pp. 54-55.

2. A.N., Vol.III, p.43-'An order was issued that Muzaffar Khan should take the Malwa officers and proceed rapidly to Gujarat and that Kunwar Man Singh should collect the fief holders of Khachiwara and hasten to reach (Gujarat)'.

Ibid., p-67-'Near Ujjain he (Muzaffar Khan) joined Raja Man Singh who was proceeding from Khachiwara to Gujarat'.

Ibid., p/66-'A farman was issued that the officers should stop at whatever place they had reached....Man Singh went to his fief.'

part of the story referring to 'the conquest of the principality of Oond' and Man Singh's transfer to Kabul, relates to the events of 1586. In 1586, Akbar directed Man Singh to suppress the tribe of Yusufzai in Swat and Bajaur under the supervision of Todarmal. Man Singh established his camp at O'hind (Oond of Vansavali) and also built a fort there and gave a tough time to the Yusufzais. Before he could complete his assignment, he was appointed governor of Afghanistan and was directed to proceed to Kabul.¹ The only useful information in this story is the award of the mansab of 3500 to Man Singh. We can safely say that Man Singh got this rank in 1586. The vansavali story as narrated by Prasad must be rejected without a second thought.

The story of the humiliation of Man Singh at the hands of Rana Pratap and his supporters was discovered by the author of a medieval romance entitled Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. The story became popular during the national movement and the children are still fed upon it in the text books to sustain the 'national' pride. Raghuvir Singh² and G.N. Sharma³ have established beyond doubt that the story is a result of poetic imagination. As the rivalry between the houses of Amber and Udaipur grew after the battle of Haldighati the bards of the respective houses invented fantastic stories to discredit the rivals of their patrons. Prasad has, however, revived the controversy by asserting its authenticity. His arguments are based more on assumptions than on facts. He writes:

1. A.N., Vol.III, p.487- 'Man Singh established his camp at the bank of the river (Indus) in the direction of Buner and near O'hind (N.E. of Atak, on the right bank of Indus)...He established a fort there and set about civilising the country'.

Ibid., p. 492- 'Kunwar Man Singh and another force was sent there (Kabul)'.

2. Raghuvir Singh, Purva Andhunik Rajasthan, p. 51.

3. G.N. Sharma, Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, pp. 79-80, n.16.

'It is true that no contemporary Muslim writer has written anything about the incident, but the story has behind it the sanction of long tradition and finds place in the account of almost all the historians of Rajasthan. Besides circumstantial evidence also supports the view that such an incident might have taken place. The Kuar visited Udaipur on his way back from Gujarat because he was commanded by the Emperor to do so, and also because curtesy demanded that he should pay his respects to Rana Pratap, who was the doyen of the Rajput rulers of Rajasthan, while passing through his territory. It is also natural that the Maharana should have extended the hospitality to the Kuar which he deserved when the latter had halted in his territory. But the Maharana must have been bitter against Kuar Man Singh on account of his matrimonial alliances with the Mughals and also on account of his being a trusted Imperial servant. Thus, how could Rana Pratap, the proud Rajput and the arch enemy of Akbar, see eye to eye with Kuar Man Singh who was the most devoted general of the Mughal Emperor. Hence, there is every possibility that some such incident occurred at the time of the interview which might have wounded the vanity of Kuar Man Singh. Besides, the Kuar was a youngman of twenty three bristling with energy and full of vigour and pride. At this age even the slightest provocation can make a person lose the equilibrium of his mind. In this circumstance the rift between the two was bound to occur. Hence the authenticity of this incident cannot be brushed aside on flimsy grounds.

"In order to ascertain the real causes of the battle of Haldighati one has to probe a little deeper into the matter.

Akbar was successful in winning over a large number of Rajput states by his policy of matrimony and friendship, and this unavailing, even by extending threats and coercion. But neither of these policies could bring Rana Pratap to the fold of Mughal Emperor. The Maharana stood like a stumbling block in the Emperor's scheme of annexing the whole of Rajasthan to his Empire. Akbar was a shrewd observer of the human nature and he knew very well that unless Rana Pratap was persuaded or coerced into submission, his policy of fraternising the Rajputs and making them a bulwark of the growing Mughal empire was doomed to failure. But the Rana was made of different stuff. He was prepared to sacrifice his life at the alter of Rajput freedom but was not ready to accept the overlordship of the Mughals. The loss of Chittor was still fresh in his memory and he was not the least inclined to come to terms with the imperialists who had deprived them of his dear motherland. Besides, the Rana was a proud orthodox Rajput Chief who hated the Mughal emperor very bitterly because the latter not only negotiated friendship with the Rajput rulers but also polluted their blood by contracting matrimonial alliances with them. Thus a clash between the two was inevitable because they were poles asunder in championing their respective causes. Moreover, the desire to possess the elephant, 'Ram Prasad' was also a contributory factor. And to add to this, the insult to the Kachhwaha prince at Udaisagar lake had further widened the gulf between the two powerful Rajput states of Rajasthan. This might have proved the immediate cause of the war because diplomacy must have demanded of Akbar to do something effective in order to sympathise with the Kuar when all efforts of wooing the Rana failed."¹

1. Prasad, pp. 38-39.

The learned author has accepted 'the sanction of long tradition' as the basis of his acceptance of the story which is not correct approach. He has likewise accepted the Kachhwaha version of the story in which three hundred dogs were let loose on the food supplied by the Rana for Man Singh and his party. Both the stories have two things in common - (1) that the Rana declined to eat with Man Singh on account of the latter's association with 'the impure' Mughals, and (2) that Man Singh threatened the Rana with dire consequences and the battle of Haldighati was its direct result. Prasad has explained that 'Pratap should be bitter against Man Singh on account of his matrimonial alliances with the Mughals and also on account of his being a trusted servant'. Such a contention is illogical because Bhagwant Das who visited the Rana after a few months, was received by him with great honour. Moreover Bhagwant Das perhaps shared greater responsibility for marrying his sister to Akbar than his son, Man Singh. Todarmal who enjoyed greater trust of Akbar than Man Singh was also warmly welcomed by the Rana. It is thus obvious that the bards selected Man Singh, who later became a Kachhwaha hero, for this story to humble the pride of the Kachhwahas. Prasad has made himself believe that Pratap was 'proudest among proud Rajputs' and that he was 'an arch enemy of Akbar'. Till 1573, Pratap's actions do not justify such an assessment of the Rana. While Jaimal and Patta defended 'the glorious Rajput traditions of sacrifice' the prince Pratap 'the arch enemy of Akbar' preferred the life of anonymity in the safety of Udaipur hills. During his reign which began in February 1572 while the Mughals were consolidating their hold over his border districts like Chitter, Badnor, Shahpur and Rayata by measuring the agricultural land for revenue

assessment, and dividing the Mewar districts into the fiscal units and assigning the land of Mewar in endowments¹, the Rana stayed at his retreat, perfectly happy. The 'proudest among the proud Rajputs and the arch enemy of Akbar' had perfectly reconciled himself, like his father, to the loss of Chittor and its adjoining territories. It was only in 1574, after the return of Amar Singh from Fatehpur, when he could no longer suffer the humiliating demands of Akbar that he decided to resist the Mughal aggression. The Rana's object in his life-long conflict with the Mughals was extremely limited - the preservation of his independence and defence of his territory. Prasad has also not been able to reconcile to his acceptance of the Udaisagar story and his logical sense. He writes that the incident 'might have proved the immediate cause of the war (It took Akbar and Man Singh three years to take action on the immediate cause) because dip lomacy must have demanded of Akbar to do something effective in order to sympathise with the Kuar when all efforts of wooing the Rana failed'.² Immediately, in the following paragraph he gives a contradictory statement that 'though Kuar Man Singh reported to the Emperor the whole incident that had taken place on the bank of Udaisagar lake, even then the Emperor was not moved to action'.³

While explaining the reasons of the battle of Haldighati Prasad writes that the Rana, the proud orthodox Hindu-chief was embittered against Akbar, because by his system of matrimonial alliances, he polluted the Rajput blood. The truth is to the contrary;

1. G.N. Sharma, p. 76.

2. Prasad, p. 39.

3. Ibid.

it was the Mughal blood which was 'polluted' (if the blood could be polluted) by these marriages. The Mughals like Shahjahan and Khurram were half Rajputs and no Rajput chief is known to be half Mughal. Prasad has built up his irrational argument to its illogical end that the conflict between Akbar and Pratap was inevitable. Prasad's argument leads us to believe that even if Akbar was more liberal in offering the terms of settlement and had returned Chittor and its adjoining territories to the Rana, the conflict was bound to occur because the 'proud Hindu Rajput-Chief' could not bear 'the pollution' of Kachhwaha and Rathor blood. G.N. Sharma has also subscribed to this irrational theory of the inevitability of the conflict between Akbar and Pratap because the Rana 'inherited implacable enmity to Akbar'.¹ The concepts like the inheritance of enmity or friendship and the inevitability of a conflict between Pratap and Akbar are unscientific. In politics there are no permanent allies or enemies. It is true that Rana Sangram Singh fought against Babar but it is also true that his son, also a descendant of Bapa Rawal, sought Humayun's support. It is true that Udai Singh resisted Akbar but it is also a fact that Jagmal and Shakti also the descendants of the famous Sanga did not hesitate in joining the Mughals. It is not necessary that a conflict must continue in the succeeding generations. Akbar and Pratap had fought a deadly war but Shahjahan and Bhim, their descendants had a great bond of personal affection.

There is no reason to believe that Pratap or Akbar wanted the bloody 'inevitable war'. Akbar's attack had a limited object

1. G.N. Sharma, p. 76.

of the demonstration of his power to impress upon the Rajput rulers that they could not ignore him. After the occupation of Chittor Akbar did not interfere in the affairs of Mewar. Akbar gave a long rope to Rana Udai Singh but the Rana kept himself detached from the outside politics. After his death, Pratap became the Rana in February 1572. The vision of the modern writers has been completely blurred by the heroic resistance offered by Pratap to a mighty emperor. The history of Mewar is viewed by them from a post Haldighati angle.

Rana Pratap began his rule with an open mind. His accession did not bring about any change in the domestic or foreign policy of Mewar. He must have learnt with satisfaction that Akbar did not recognise Jagmal as the successor of Udai Singh. Akbar formally recognised the accession of Pratap by sending a diplomatic mission, headed by Jalal Khan Gurchi, in 1572. Thus, Pratap's rule began on a hopeful note. His cordial reception of Man Singh and Bhagwant Das and his visit to Todarnal clearly indicate that the Rana was equally keen to avoid a conflict with Akbar. In response to Akbar's demand of personal homage he sent his eldest son Amar Singh to the court.¹

The Sisodias of Mewar were undoubtedly the most respected kings among the Rajputs. They enjoyed a position of unchallenged supremacy for many centuries in Rajputana while the Kachhwahas of Amber were among the lesser known tribes and never enjoyed, before their alliance with the Mughals, a position of eminence. Amber

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 67.

remained a vassal state of the Sultanat or of Mewar or Marwar, whoever happened to be stronger. The Mughal-Kachhwaha alliance in 1562, provided the Kachhwahas with an opportunity to strengthen their position in Rajputana and soon Amber became a 'first class state'. No tribe of consequence joined the Mughal camp and for almost a decade, the Kachhwahas ruled supreme in the Mughal court and thus they developed vested interests in the court and the empire. The continuity and success of the Mughal empire assured them a very high status and general prosperity. By the time the Rathor and other Rajput tribes joined the imperial camp they had already acquired a position of prominence. They knew that the Sisodias would soon overshadow them if they decided to join the Mughal camp as it did happen in the reign of Jahangir. The Kachhwahas, thus, were mainly guided by the undermentioned objectives in their dealings with the Sisodias. Firstly they contributed their best to the empire because their destiny was linked with the Mughals. Secondly for maintaining their unrivalled position among the Rajput nobles of the court they never sincerely tried to achieve a political settlement between Akbar and the Sisodias. Thirdly because of the age long loyalty towards the Sisodias by the minor states, and because of the popularity of the Sisodias with the people of Mewar the Kachhwahas neither wished for a complete destruction of Rana Pratap nor the devastation of his territories.

The arrival of Amar Singh at Sikri must have been a cause of apprehension among the Rajputs, particularly the Kachhwahas, who were by then deeply entrenched in the court. Although Akbar himself took the initiative and opened the negotiations with the Rana, yet it appears that under the pressure of the 'entrenched Rajputs' Akbar grew cold towards the Rana and adopted a stiff line. He seems to

have been led to believe that a lenient policy towards the Rana would start a chain reaction among the Rajput chiefs who had half-heartedly joined the emperor and that a strong line against the Sisodias would keep the lesser kingdoms in complete subjugation.

It is clear that Akbar demanded unconditional surrender and insisted upon the personal homage of the Rana. The Rana, perhaps hoped that Akbar would assign him a special status, at least superior to other Rajput vassals. The aspirations of the Rana were based on a deep-rooted sense of superiority, backed by history. To the great disgust of the Rana, Amar Singh was very coldly received at the imperial court. Little significance was attached to his visit. In the three volumes of Akbarnama, Abul Fazl wrote only a line about the visit of the great grandson of Rana Sangram Singh. The prince seems to have returned with the impression that Akbar was not prepared to accord the status and the position which the time honoured house of Chittor deserved. Being treated less than or even at par with the Kachhwahas or the Rathors was humiliating for the Sisodias. Akbar failed to appreciate this aspect of Sisodia sentiments, which his son Jahangir did realise later. Jahangir gave a right royal reception to Kunwar Karn Singh, when he formally submitted to him in 1616 on behalf of his father, Rana Amar Singh. Jahangir in his short autobiography has assigned several pages to the visit of Karn Singh¹. Jahangir did not insist on the personal homage of the Rana and offered him very lenient terms and thus ended a terrible and bloody struggle between the mighty Mughal empire and the poor but determined Mewar.

1. R.B., Turuk, Vol. I, pp. 276-278, 286-87, 289, 293 etc.

2. Role of Kachhwahas in the Punjab and Afghanistan.

In 1578, Man Singh was transferred to the Punjab. Prasad's account of his early activities in the Punjab contains several mistakes. He writes:

"The deputation of Kuar Man Singh to the Punjab and north-west frontier regions of India was another milestone on the road to his success. The north-western part of the Mughal Empire was a plague spot where the Afghans and turbulent Afridis were constant source of consternation to the Mughal Governor of the Punjab. The Mughal suzerainty in that region was very shaky and the situation demanded the presence of a man of sterling qualities and great abilities. These considerations weighed with the Emperor in transferring Kuar Man Singh to the Punjab.

"Akbar deputed Raja Todar Mal to the Punjab to arrange for the Jagirs of the Kachhwaha chiefs which the Raja successfully accomplished. Man Singh reported himself along with his father, Raja Bhagwant Das, to the Emperor in the Punjab in April, 1578 while the latter was engaged in hunting in the neighbourhood of Bhera in the Shahpur district of the Punjab. The Emperor placed the services of Raja Bhagwant Das, Raja Gopal, Jugmal and other Kachhwaha chiefs at the disposal of Said Khan, the then Governor of the Punjab with the instructions that 'they should exert themselves in service and not depart from the counsels of Said Khan and should not slumber in administering the province and maintaining their own preparedness'.

"Man Singh was at once employed by Akbar for chastising the Baluchi chiefs who had at first submitted to the Mughal emperor but had later left the imperial camp and ran away secretly. Man Singh could not accomplish the task assigned to him owing to the delay in receiving the order from the Emperor, during which interval, the Baluchi chiefs (i.e. Hari Khan and others) had gone far away so as to be beyond the reach of the Kuar. Akbar was much displeased at the failure of the mission. He censured Man Singh and debarred him from paying homage for some time.

"The displeasure of the Emperor, however, did not continue long, for the Kuar successfully carried out other important assignments. When Yusuf Khan, the king of Kashmir, was troubled by internal rebellion, he sought the protection of Kuar Man Singh who, with the help of another Mughal Officer, named Muhammed Yusuf Khan, brought the ruler of Kashmir to the imperial court via Punjab in January, 1580. Moreover, Sulaiman Mirza, who was formerly under the protection of Akbar, sided with Muhammad Hakim, ruler of Kabul, when the latter proposed to lead an expedition against Shahrukh Muhammad, king of Badakshan (Badakshan) and a friend of Akbar. Akbar was highly displeased to hear of this attack of the Kabul ruler on his ally and friend, the Badakshan king. He at once directed Kuar Man Singh, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Raja Bhagwant Das and other officers of the Punjab and Multan provinces to proceed to Badakshan and help Shahrukh. But the expedition did not occur since the Kabul ruler did not venture an attack on Badakshan. Notwithstanding these engagements in the Punjab, Man Singh did not enjoy any independent status or command. He was merely a mansabdar of 3500, and played a subordinate

role in the affairs of the province with his headquarters at Sialkot, the then capital of the Punjab.

"Kuar Man Singh was not destined to remain in the background for long and in January 1580 he was entrusted with a responsible job. Akbar was not satisfied with Muhammad Yusuf Khan's management of administrative affairs in the North-Western Frontier Provinces wherefore he was removed and his place was given to Kuar Man Singh".¹

Prasad's explanation for the transfer of Man Singh to the Punjab is based upon a wrong assumption that 'the north-western part of the Mughal empire was a plague-spot where the Afghans and the turbulent Afridis were a constant source of contumacious to the Mughal governor of the Punjab' and that 'the Mughal suzerainty in that region was shaky'. It may be submitted that Akbar's control over the Punjab was far more firm and secure than on many of the other provinces in his empire. If Prasad has the present North West Frontier Province of Pakistan, a region west of Indus, in his mind, it may be noted that in 1578, the trans-Indus region was outside the Indian empire and 'the Afghans and the turbulent Afridis' were the headache of Mirza Hakim. Moreover, it is too much to presume that Man Singh's latent 'sterling qualities and great abilities' were known to his contemporaries in 1578. His career till then was not very outstanding.

Prasad has jumbled up several events without reference to chronology in the following order: (i) The deputation of Todarmal

1. Prasad, pp. 56-57.

to the Punjab to arrange the jagirs of the Kachhwaha chiefs; (ii) the arrival of Bhagwant Das and Man Singh at Bhera where Akbar was camping; (iii) the placing of the services of the Kachhwahas and other Rajputs at the disposal of Saeed Khan, governor of Lahore; (iv) the sending of Man Singh against the Baluchi chiefs, Haji Khan and others. The chronological order of these events is as follows: (1) the arrival of Man Singh at Bhera about 22, 1578; (2) the sending of Man Singh against the Baluchi chiefs; (3) the deputation of Todarmal to arrange the jagirs of the Kachhwahas; (4) the placing of the services of the Kachhwahas at the disposal of Saeed Khan.

Prasad has written that Man Singh could not capture the Baluchi chief, Haji Khan, 'owing to the delay in receiving the order from the emperor'. Abul Fasl, however, fixed the responsibility for Man Singh's failure on military intelligence which did not provide the information about Haji Khan's whereabouts in time. Whoever was responsible for it, Akbar was displeased with Man Singh. Prasad adds that Akbar's displeasure did not last long because Man Singh brought Sultan Yusuf Shah, the ruler of Kashmir to his court. Prasad has unnecessarily connected the two events which have a time gap of a little less than two years. Akbar's displeasure was, of course short lived and Man Singh was given audience after only a few days in 1578, and it certainly did not last till 1580, when the ruler of Kashmir came to the court. Prasad has repeatedly committed the mistake of writing Muhammad for Mirza. Mirza Yusuf Khan, Mirza Hakim, Mirza Khan and Mirza Sulaiman etc. are re-named

by Prasad as Muhammad Yusuf Khan, Muhammad Hakim, Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Sulaiman. Prasad is mistaken when he writes that the Badakhshan 'expedition did not occur since the Kabul ruler did not venture an attack on Badakhshan'. Sulaiman and Hakim did invade Badakhshan and Shahrukh was obliged to surrender greater part of his kingdom to Sulaiman. Prasad is again wrong when he considers Sialkot, 'the then capital of the Punjab'. Lahore remained the capital of the Punjab throughout medieval period of Indian history. About Man Singh's transfer to the Indus region, Prasad's reference to North Western Frontier Provinces is again wrong. Prasad commits another mistake when he places the transfer of Man Singh to Indus in January 1580, Prasad has advanced the date by almost a year. Towards the end of 1580, when the invasion of Mirza Hakim became imminent, Man Singh was appointed warden of the Indus region.

Prasad's account of the activities of Man Singh as incharge of the Indus region has some minor discrepancies. He writes:

"While Kuar Man Singh was at Rawalpindi, he heard of Shadman's attack on Mughal territories. Shadman was held in high esteem by Muhammad (Mirza) Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, to whom the former was 'the sword of the army'. The Kuar further heard that Shadman has crossed the Indus and had besieged the fort of Nilab; but the fort was being heroically defended by Zainuddin Ali whom the Kuar had sent earlier for defending the same. The Kuar at once proceeded to that region and on the 22nd December, 1580, attacked Shadman's forces in the night. The van of the army was entrusted to Alu Khan Kachhuwa and Suraj Singh, a brother of Man Singh.

The forces of Kabul were attacked at a time when they were least prepared to face the attack. The result was that the Afghan army had to meet with a crushing defeat at the hands of the imperialists. Shadman was wounded by Suraj Singh and he died in the neighbourhood. The news of the defeat and death of Shadman was received with great pleasure by the Emperor but he also apprehended some trouble on account of the death of the Afghan general. He was convinced of the fact that Mirza Muhammad Hakim would not take the defeat of his commander-in-chief lying down and would certainly invade the Mughal dominion. The Emperor at once deputed Rai Rai Singh, Jagannath, Raja Gopal and other loyal officers along with a large number of elephants, to the assistance of the Kuar for opposing the Mirza effectively. Akbar was not satisfied with this arrangement alone. He decided to march towards the Punjab personally. He issued an order to Man Singh not to oppose the Mirza openly and to put off a direct engagement with him since the Emperor himself wanted to measure his strength with his half brother'.¹

It is to be submitted that (1) the van was not entrusted to Suraj Singh, he commanded the altanash; (2) Prasad's use of the word Afghan is very loose, he refers to Mirza Hakim as the Afghan ruler and to Shadman as the Afghan general. In medieval history the word Afghan is used to denote a particular 'race'. Mirza Hakim was a Mughal and Shadman was a Turani; (3) Rai Rai Singh, Jagannath and

1. Prasad, pp. 57-58.

others were not sent to the 'assistance of the Kuar for opposing the Mirza effectively' but they were sent to Lahore to assist Saeed Khan, the governor of the Punjab and in fact Man Singh was also ordered to return to Lahore and not to oppose the Mirza; (4) Akbar did not want 'to measure his strength with his half brother'. He, in fact, avoided an armed conflict with his brother.

In February, 1581, Mirza Hakim besieged Lahore. The officers of the Punjab including Man Singh shut themselves up in the fort. Prasad, relying upon Monserrate, has regarded Man Singh as the commander of the fort of Lahore. Monserrate writes that Mirza Hakim besieged the city of Lahore and ordered the commander of the citadel, Man Singh son of Bhagwant Das to surrender, but Man Singh replied: 'I shall not break my promise to your brother, Akbar, who gave this fortress into my charge. If you wish to make trial of your fortune, advance to storm, for I am ready to resist you. If you trust in your superior forces, I on the other hand, am confident on account of the valour of my men, who will a thousand time sooner die than surrender. If you storm and capture the citadel, I care not for my life. I only desire to be faithful to my emperor, Akbar'.¹

Monserrate is certainly mistaken. Man Singh was one of those persons who became a legend in their life times. His devotion to Akbar became proverbial. Monserrate is the victim of the legendary image of Man Singh. Man Singh was an officer of the middle rank and Saeed Khan was the governor of Lahore. Mirza Hakim could not possibly have opened negotiations with a junior officer. The story quoted at length by Prasad must be rejected.

1. Prasad, pp. 59-60.

Prasad has left the burden of the sifting of evidences upon the readers. He writes:

"Sujan Singh in his Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh states:

'Mirza Hakim being unsuccessful in his mission left the city of Lahore in disgust and proceeded towards Kabul via Jabalpur, Hafirabad and Bhannara and crossed the river Indus near Khunt. Kuar Man Singh pursued the Mirza up to the river Indus and then returned to Lahore when the story of this valour of Man Singh reached the ears of the Emperor, the latter was much pleased and gave him suitable rewards and increased his mansab to 5000'.¹

The story mentioned by Sujan Rai cannot be accepted because Akbar had strictly forbidden his officers to pursue the Mirza. Abul Fazl writes that 'an order was issued that the army should refrain from pursuit lest in the rush of waters the Mirza's boat should be sunk, and his condition pass beyond the power of remedies'². Moreover, it is absolutely wrong that Man Singh got the rank of 5000 in 1581. If my interpretation of the Vansavali of Jaipur is correct, he got the rank of 3500 in 1586, and got the rank of 5000 only after the death of his father in 1589. Even his father had not attained the mansab of 50000 in 1581. Bhagwant Das got the rank of 5000 in 1585.³ As regards Mirza Hakim's retreat, Sujan Rai is not correct. His 'Bhannara' is Bhera and 'Khunt' is Kapar.

1. Prasad, p. 60.

2. A.N. Vol. III, p. 346.

3. A.N., Vol. III, p. 457.

Prasad's account of Man Singh's governorship of Kabul and the suppression of the Afghans, except for some minor mistakes¹, is excellent but his description of the illness of Bhagwant Das and Man Singh's appointment to the government of Kabul contain many glaring mistakes. He writes:

"With the departure of Kuar Man Singh for the punishment of the Yusufzais, the seat of the governorship of Kabul became vacant. It was not safe to keep the vacancy pending because there was the danger of fresh outbreak of rebellion amongst the Afghans in Kabul. Therefore, Raja Bhagwant Das, who was then the governor of the Punjab, was directed to proceed to Kabul in place of Kuar Man Singh. But in the meantime, he developed signs of madness and therefore he was forbidden to leave his territories. The Raja, however, soon recovered and was allowed to proceed to Kabul with several other officers.

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1. Prasad, p.66 - He writes that with the help of Man Singh Mir Quresh, the ambassador of Turan safely crossed the Khaibar Pass. He adds that 'the foreign visitor started for Fatehpur Sikri in order to pay homage to the emperor'. In this line Prasad has committed two mistakes (1) The ambassador of Turan visited Akbar at Atak which was the imperial headquarter. Fatehpur by that time had become a deserted town on account of the change of imperial headquarters and famine. (2) Prasad has used the language of Abul Fazl, the court historian, with regard to the ambassador's paying the 'homage' to the emperor. Abul Fazl does not distinguish between the homage of an imperial servant and the paying of respect by a foreign dignitary. Mir Quresh was received by Akbar on March 28, 1586, with honour. Prasad makes a similar mistake when writing about Todarmal's return from Lungar in Swat, he says, 'the Raja himself came to Fatehpur and paid his homage to the Emperor in March, 1586'. The same mistake has been committed here. In March 1586, Akbar was still at Atak which he left on April 24, 1586. Akbar had given up his residence at Fatehpur in 1585. After leaving Atak he lived at Lahore for more than a decade and in the last few years of his life he resided at Agra. Similarly about the visit of Mirza Sulaiman he writes (p.70) that 'in the middle of September, 1586, Muhammad (Mirza) Sulaiman, ex-ruler of Badakhshan came to Kabul on his way to Agra for paying the homage to the Emperor'. In this case also he is again mistaken because Akbar was at Lahore when Sulaiman reached there in early 1587.

"But the poor Raja was not destined to reach Kabul. On his way to Afghan capital, Raja Bhagwant Das crossed the Indus and halted in the Sarai of Khairabad. For some days he looked after military affairs but suddenly he again showed symptoms of madness. He was brought back to Atak and was placed under the treatment of a physician named Saman. While this physician was feeling his pulse, the Raja drew his dagger and wounded himself..."

"But the question of the governorship of Kabul had not yet been decided. Ismail Quli Khan, a Mughal grandee, was sent to Kabul while Raja Bhagwant was taken ill. But the former did not acquit himself well. He indulged in idle thoughts and this mismanaged the administration. Akbar rightly decided that it was not safe to keep such a man at the helm of affairs in Kabul.

"The need of a suitable governor for Kabul was considered more urgent than the chastisement of the Yusufzais. None but Kuar Man Singh was considered suitable for the post and, therefore, the Kuar was directed to assume the reins of Government of Kabul. Ismail Quli Khan was deputed in place of the Kuar for the Yusufzais".¹

With regard to Prasad's observation, "with the departure of Kuar Man Singh to the punishment of the Yusufzais, the seat of the governorship of Kabul became vacant" it is to be noted that the new assignment of Man Singh did not bring about any basic change in the government of Kabul. Man Singh

1. Prasad, p. 69.

did not take charge of the province and he did not visit Kabul after he had come back in November, 1585. Even if it is conceded that he was an absentee governor, a common practice in the Mughal period, his new assignment could not materially change the situation. 'The seat of the governorship of Kabul' was vacant for a long time and the affairs of Kabul were being looked after by Man Singh's eldest son, Jagat Singh, and Khwaja Shamsuddin since November 16, 1585.¹ With regard to the alleged madness of Bhagwant Das, Prasad has uncritically copied Abul Fasl who had deliberately invented this story to cover up Bhagwant Das's disgust over Akbar's treatment of Sultan Yusuf Shah of Kashmir. Prasad is totally misinformed when he writes that Ismail Quli was sent to Kabul and he did not acquaint himself well, and indulged in idle thought and mismanagement of the administration. In this connection Abul Fasl writes:

"When Raja Bhagwant Das fell ill, Ismail Quli was sent in his place (to take charge of the government of Kabul). He from inexperience and selfishness formed crude wishes and indulged in idle thought. He fell out of favour, and an order was given that he should be put on board a boat and shipped off, via Bhakkar, to Hijaz (Mecca). He awoke somewhat from his somnolence, and had recourse to supplications. Though his apologies were accepted, he was removed from his post and ordered to chastise the Yusufzai. Madhava Singh, Saeed Khan Ghakkar, Abul Qasim Tamkin and the servants of Bhagwant Das were nominated to assist him. Kunwar Man Singh and another force were sent to Kabul."²

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 443.

2. A.N., Vol. III, p. 492.

It is obvious from Abul Fazl's account that the appointment of Ismail Quli to the governorship of Kabul and the withdrawal of the offer were almost simultaneous. Ismail Quli did not go to Kabul and there was no question of his 'mismanaging the administration' of Kabul. Prasad's estimate of Man Singh is too high and unrealistic. His contention that 'none but Kuar Man Singh was considered suitable for the post' of the governorship of Kabul cannot be justified with the events and appointments discussed by Prasad himself in the above quoted passage. It is no secret that Man Singh's appointment was made under compelling circumstances. The post was first offered to Bhagwant Das who accepted it with great hesitation, and then it was offered to Ismail Quli Khan who also did not show any enthusiasm for it. It was only after Ismail fell out of favour that Man Singh was appointed governor of Kabul. It is also evident that Man Singh himself did not like this appointment and he left Kabul shortly after his arrival there, at the first opportunity, on the pretext of escorting Mirza Sulaiman to India.¹

In 1586, Akbar thought of keeping two governors in each province as an experiment. In this connection Prasad writes:

1. Man Singh was appointed governor of Kabul towards the end of April, 1586. He should have taken about a month for preparation for his new assignment and not less than fifteen days to reach Kabul. Moreover, he was asked to stay on in Peshawar till Ismail Quli reached there (Nizamuddin, *op.cit.*,) (translation Vol. II, pp. 615-616). He must have reached Kabul not earlier than July. Mirza Sulaiman came to Kabul in September and Man Singh began his plans to return with him to India in September, 1586.

" In December, 1586, Akbar reorganised his administrative structure in order to ensure efficiency and better management. He directed that every province should have two officers of equal rank in order that if one came to the imperial Court or fell ill, the other might look after his work. A Diwan and Bakshi (Bakhshi) were also appointed in each province. Consequently Man Singh was confirmed in his appointment as the governor of Kabul and Zain Khan Kokah was made the second officer. Hiramulmulk was appointed Diwan and Khwaja Shams-ud-Din was given the post of Bakshi. Assisted by these subordinate staff, Kuar Man Singh carried on the administration of Kabul quite efficiently."¹

Prasad has failed to notice that the supposed changes in the administrative structure were a prelude to Man Singh's removal from the governorship of Kabul. In December, 1586, he was already on his way to Peshawar with Mirza Sulaiman. The removal of Man Singh, it seems, had already been decided when Zain Khan Koka's appointment as governor was announced. Moreover, the whole scheme of two governors for each province did not really come in operation. Biographical studies of the twenty four designate governors would reveal that many of them did not take charge of the provinces assigned to them at all. There were more than one governors in a province even earlier. Bhagwant Das and Saeed Khan held the joint charge of Lahore for a long time. In some cases, more than two governors were appointed, as was the case with the province of Lahore in 1589, when Bhagwant Das, Quli Khan and Todarmal had a joint charge of the province. The scheme is said to have come in

1. Prasad, op.cit., p.70; A.N., Vol.III, p. 511.

operation in December 1586, but we see that in the case of Kabul the principle of two governors was totally disregarded. Only after three months of the introduction of this scheme we find that Zain Khan Koka was appointed governor of Kabul in March 1587, only after Man Singh was removed from its governorship. Prasad's observation that 'Nizamulmulk was appointed Diwan and Khwaja Shams-ud-Din was given the post of Bakshi' and 'assisted by these subordinate staff, Kuar Man Singh carried on the administration of Kabul quite efficiently' betrays his ignorance of the working of the Mughal provincial administration. The Mughals had evolved a system of separation of powers at the provincial level and the diwan of the suba was not a subordinate officer of the governor but he was directly responsible to the central diwan.

Prasad has given an apology for the removal of Man Singh from the governorship of Kabul. He writes:

"In March, 1587, Kuar Man Singh was recalled from Kabul and the province was placed in charge of Zain Khan Koka. Badaoni and Nizamuddin mention the fact of Man Singh's recall but do not assign any reason for the same. However, Abul Fazl does advance some reasons for it. He says, "As it appeared that the Rajput clan behaved with injustice to the subjects of that country and that Kuar Man Singh did not look closely into the cases of the oppressed and disliked that cold country, it was taken from him and he was appointed to chastise the Tarikis."

"The causes advanced by Abul Fasl for the recall of Kuar Man Singh from Kabul do not appear to be very convincing. It is possible that the Rajputs might have perpetrated some oppression on the Afghans and the Kuar might not have taken the trouble of looking into the grievances. It is also true that the Rajputs disliked the cold climate of Afghanistan and were anxious to go back to their homes in India. But all these do not seem to constitute the real cause of Man Singh's recall. The recall was due to something else.

" The Afghans entertained a feeling of strong antipathy towards the Rajputs of Hindusthan. The presence of Rajputs in Kabul proved galling to the proud Afghans and the latter were fretting and fuming under the domination of the former. Hence the Kaohwaha Rajputs became an eye-sore to the nobles and commoners alike of Kabul. Akbar was aware of this inner feeling of the Afghans of the Province of Kabul. Moreover, the work of Kuar Man Singh in Afghanistan had been finished. Under his governorship the recalcitrant Afghans were completely humbled and Kabul was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Besides, the ever-rebellious Afghan tribes of the extreme north-west viz. the Yusufzais and Roushanias were suppressed for the time being and there was now no need of maintaining the Kuar in Kabul.

" Besides, the transfer of Kuar Man Singh was done in usual course. After every two or three years the Mughal governors were transferred from one province to another. Therefore, Man Singh was

also transferred to the province of Bihar in 1587. Along with Man Singh's transfer, other important transfers were also made. In this connection Niramuddin writes:

"Man Singh was summoned to the threshold which was the asylum of all menAbout the end of Shaban 995 A.H.(i.e. 25th September, 1587) Man Singh arrived at the threshold and at the end of the year, he was honoured with the government of the country of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna and received permission to go there. About the same time also the government of Kashmir was entrusted to Mirza Yusuf Khan, Muhammad Kasim (Qasim) Khan was summoned from that country. Md. Sadiq Khan was sent to Swad and Bajaur, for the destruction of Yusufzais and the jagirs of Man Singh at Sialkot were bestowed on him. Ismail Quli Khan was sent for from Swad (Swat) and Bajaur and was sent to Gujarat in place of Quli (Qulij) Khan and the latter was summoned to the court."

Thus the transfer of Kuar was not due to any maladministration on his part but it was done in the usual course of administrative reorganisation."¹

The above discussion, in which Prasad has indirectly accepted the charge of Abul Fazl that there were complaints against the Rajputs, and Man Singh did not look into the grievances of the Afghans by coming out with an apology but he insists that 'these do not seem to constitute the real cause of Man Singh's recall.

1. Prasad, op.cit., pp. 72-73.

He has developed a highly irrational theory of 'strong antipathy of the Afghans towards the Rajputs' which cannot be supported by facts. He writes that 'the presence of the Rajputs in Kabul proved galling to the proud Afghans' and 'the Kachhwahas became an eye-sore to the nobles and commoners alike'. Prasad has further imagined that 'Akbar was aware of this inner feeling of the Afghans of the Province of Kabul'. Prasad's implied suggestion is that Akbar removed Man Singh from Kabul on account of the antipathy of the Afghans. Prasad has himself contradicted his theory of antipathy in his following paragraph. He writes:

"Kuar Man Singh had proved successful in suppressing the turbulent Afghan tribes of the north-western regions of India. Though the Afghans of the frontier regions were suppressed, the Afghans of the Eastern Provinces were causing great headache to the Emperor. Hence, Akbar decided to utilize the services of Kuar Man Singh for this purpose and this was the chief reason for the Kuar's appointment as the governor of Bihar".

One is surprised that Akbar who was aware of 'the inner feeling of the Afghans' and about their 'antipathy towards the Rajputs' could appoint Man Singh against another set of Afghans. May be Akbar was aware of the inner feelings of the Afghans of the west and was unaware of the feelings of the Afghans of the east, against whom he had personally led an expedition in 1574.

To support his contention that 'the transfer of Kuar was not due to any maladministration on his part but it was done

in the usual course of administrative re-organisation'. Prasad has cited Niram-ud-Din, quoted above, without considering that Niram-ud-Din's account is faulty. Prasad has further confused his readers by using the word of 'transfer' instead of removal. Man Singh was removed from the Governorship of Kabul in March 1587, and was appointed governor of Bihar in December 1587. There is a difference of about a year between his removal from Kabul and his appointment to Bihar. Only a highly imaginative person can knit the two events together to make the readers believe that Man Singh was transferred from Kabul to Patna. Prasad should have known that Niramuddin's references to appointments are not always correct and they should always be compared with Akbarname. Niramuddin has given a confused account of Man Singh's appointment. A.L. Srivastava has also made a confusing statement. He writes:

"While the progress of the campaign against the Frontier tribesmen was yet in its initial stages, Man Singh, governor of Kabul whose administration was more strict than desirable, was transferred to Bihar and his adoptive father Bhagwant Das was appointed in his place (April 1586). But on account of his illness the latter could not take over and therefore Man Singh was reappointed to Kabul. But again he ruled with a strong hand...so he was finally transferred to Bihar (December 1587)."¹

If the events in the life of Man Singh are examined in chronological order a correct picture might emerge:

1. A.L. Srivastava, p. 350.

Man Singh removed from the governorship: March 1587.
of Kabul and appointed against the
Roushanias.

Man Singh ordered to march to Bangash
and cooperate with Abdul Muttalib against
Roushanias.

18th April, 1587.

Abdul Muttalib's victory at Dar Samand.

1st week of August 1587.

Death of Warir Khan in Bengal and
transfer of Saeed Khan, governor of Bihar
to Bengal, causing vacancy in Bihar.

2nd week of August, 1587.

It is clear from the above chronology that Man Singh was not transferred from Kabul to Patna. Prasad has put forward another explanation for the removal of Man Singh from Kabul that 'after every two or three years the Mughal governors were transferred from one province to another' cannot be applied to Man Singh's removal from the governorship of Kabul because Man Singh's tenure did not last even one complete year. In view of the above discussion there cannot be any other explanation for the recall of Man Singh except that Akbar was displeased by the atrocities of Man Singh's soldiers upon the Afghans.¹

Prasad's estimate of Man Singh's achievements, as governor of Kabul, that under his governorship 'the recalcitrant Afghans' were 'completely humbled', is highly unrealistic. He has no idea of the magnitude of the Afghan problem. The freedom loving Afghans never accepted the Mughal rule. In spite of the fact that they never had an outstanding leader, they continued to give trouble to the Mughal emperors and their successors.

1. A.N., Vol.iii, pp. 520, 521, 525.

Prasad, in his enthusiasm to glorify his hero Man Singh, attributed the achievements of Abdul Muttalib and his companions to Man Singh. To crown it all he has referred to Abul Farl as his authority for this atrocity. Abul Farl writes to the contrary and complains:

"From the time that Man Singh had fought in the defiles (while escorting Mirza Sulaiman, December 1586) he could not bring himself to enter the mountains again and spent his time at Jamrud, near the Khaibar ravine, and indulged in futilities of speech. His Majesty censured and took measures for the uprooting of the thorn-brake of the Tarikis. Another army was ordered to go towards the hills by the route of Bangash while Man Singh was directed to march from Begram (Peshawar)".¹

Abul Farl further laments that 'if Jamrud army (the army that came from Jamrud headed by Man Singh) had arrived, Jalala would have been taken captive.' It is obvious from Abul Farl's account that has been referred to by Prasad, that Man Singh did not even raise a finger in the battle. Prasad has also jumbled the dispersion of the Roushanias from Jamrud and the battle of Dar Samand and has credited Man Singh for the victory at Dar Samand. He writes:

"Before Man Singh was entrusted with the governorship of Bihar, he was given another assignment by the Emperor, i.e. the complete annihilation of the Tarikis. At this time Man Singh was

1. A.N., Vol. iii, pp. 520.

stationed at Jamrud near Khaybar Pass. He at once proceeded to carry out the order. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon Jalala Tarikis in August 1587, at Dar Samand (Bangash). Upon the defeat of the Jalala Tarikis, the Afridis and Orakzai tribes also submitted. It was reported to Akbar that Jalala Tarikis after being defeated by Kuar Man Singh were unable to remain in their former station and fled towards Bangash. Thereupon Akbar appointed Abdul Matlab Khan to march to Bangash and destroy the hostile Afghans".¹

In the light of Abul Fazl's account it is left to the readers to make an assessment of Prasad's account of Man Singh achievements.

3. Man Singh's Coronation.

Prasad has referred to some difference of opinion about the death of Bhagwant Das and the succession of Man Singh to the gaddi of Amber. He writes:

"There has been some difference as to the date of death of Raja Bhagwant Das between Akbarnama and the Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur. Akbarnama states that Raja Bhagwant Das died on the 13th or 14th November 1589, but the Genealogical Table shows that the Raja breathed his last on Margsirsa Sudi 7, 1646 V.S. i.e. 4th December, 1589. In my opinion, it is proper to accept the date as mentioned in Akbarnama because

1. Prasad, pp. 73-74.

Abul Fazl, being the Court-historian, must be taken as giving authentic and first-hand information regarding events that occurred during the time of Emperor Akbar.

"The Genealogical Table of the Kachhwaha rulers furnishes one important information which has also been stated in Vir Vinod, that Raja Bhagwant Das died on Margsirsa Sudi 7, 1646 V.S. i.e. 4th December, 1589 but Kuar Man Singh ascended the throne of Amber on Magh Budi 5, V.S. 1647 i.e. 14th February, 1590. Thus there was a delay in the succession to the throne by about two and a half months. The reasons are not far to seek. Kuar Man Singh was at Patna when his father died and Akbar was in Kabul. It is quite likely that more than two months passed before Man Singh could get to Amber from Patna and the formal letter of investiture could be obtained from Emperor Akbar who was the over-lord of the Kachhwahas. This accounts for the delay in the accession of Man Singh to the throne of Amber.

"The 'Kuar' became 'Raja' Man Singh after his succession on Magh Budi 5, V.S. 1647 or 14th February 1590, according to the Genealogical Table or on Mangsar, Sudi 8, V.S. 1646 i.e. 5th December, 1589 according to Jaipur Vansawali or on 13th or 1th November, 1589 according to Akbarnama. In my opinion, Akbarnama and Genealogical Table in the State Archives of Jaipur are both correct. Legally speaking Man Singh, being the eldest son of his father, automatically became the Raja of Amber immediately after the death of his father on 13th or 14th November, 1589, according to Law of Primogeniture. His formal investiture was delayed by

two and a half months which event took place on 14th February, 1589 and this date seems to have been noted by the Genealogical Table as the date of succession of Man Singh to the throne of Amber. The coronation ceremony was held at Amber with great pomp and splendour. Abul Fazl writes that the Kuar received the title of Raja and the tank of 5000 from Emperor Akbar. Moreover, Akbar issued a farman of imperial favour granting him a special robe of honour and a horse and sent them along with one of the Ahadia. The Vanaswami tells us that Emperor Akbar sent 'tika' through Nasir-i-Sarkar (Munshi of Sarkar) and along with it he sent number of elephants, horses, Khilat, one bejewelled sword and a mansab of three thousand Sowars. So far as the last item is concerned, it is belied by a number of trustworthy evidences to the contrary.

"Sujan Singh in his 'Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh' states that when Kuar Man Singh successfully repulsed the attack of Muhammad Mirza Hakim in February, 1581, the Emperor was pleased to increase his mansab to 5000. This fact has also been mentioned by De Laet who observes: 'Mamut Hakim, ruler of Kabul, died of disease and Raja Man Singh, a Rajput by race and a commander of 5000 horses, was despatched to turn that kingdom into a province'. Thus both these writers have clearly stated that Man Singh was already the mansabdar of 5000 much before his accession to the throne of Amber. It is rather difficult to disagree with Abul Fazl who observes that Man Singh was awarded the mansab of 5000 at the time of his accession to the throne of Amber. It is quite possible

that the Kuar was holding a temporary mansab of 5000 during the life-time of his father and he was confirmed in that rank after his accession to the throne of Amber. But the contention of the Vansawali that Raja Man Singh received a mansab of 3000 is without any historical basis'.¹

With regard to the trustworthiness of the dates of the Genealogical Table it is to be observed that it has advanced by about two years the dates of the death of Raja Bharahmall and his elder brother, Puranmal. Similarly in the case of the date of the death of Bhagwant Das the Genealogical Table is not very exact. It is certain that the Kachhwahas began to keep record of the history of their family only after the death of Man Singh. Their histories, including the Table, were written from the vague memories of the past. The detailed account of the Kachhwahas is not available in the Persian chronicles of the early medieval period and therefore the dates of the Table cannot be checked with the other accounts. Puranmal was the first Kachhwaha ruler who joined the Mughals. From Puranmal we get a continuous history of this family in the Persian histories and the dates of the Table can be checked. It has been discovered that many of the dates of the 16th century are wrong. Prasad has placed a great reliance on the Table. In the introduction of his book he writes:

"As regards my original contributions in the present thesis I would like to refer first of all to the chronological history of the early Kachhwaha rulers of Amber which I have dealt with at length in the first chapter. With the help of a rare Genealogical Table which I found in the State Archives of Jaipur,

1. Prasad, pp. 77, 78.

I have been able to reconstruct a genealogical history of the ancestry of Raja Man Singh right from Raja Sorha Deva, who belonged to the latter part of the 10th century A.D.¹

If Prasad had tried to examine the internal evidence of the Genealogical Table, he himself would have discovered that it is not at all trustworthy for the period preceding the chieftainship of Man Singh. According to the Table between Sorha Deva and Prithviraj there were eighteen generations of rulers who ruled between 966 A.D. to 1527. The average reign of each of these chieftains would thus be slightly more than thirty one years. The average of the reigns of the rulers between Puranmal and Bhagwant Das, including both of them, is about thirteen years. No doubt in this case some violent deaths reduced the average but between Man Singh, who acquired the gaddi of Amber in 1590, and Ram Singh II, who died in 1680, the average reign does not exceed seventeen years.² An average rule of thirty one years for eighteen generations is not possible and the Table can be rejected as an authentic source only on this ground. Moreover, there is internal evidence to show the unreliability of the Table. According to it, Pajjun became the ruler of Amber in 1070 A.D. But it is well known that Pajjun was a contemporary of Raja Prithviraj Chauhan of Delhi and Ajmer who ruled during the later twelfth century. The Table has advanced the date of Pajjun by

1. Prasad, p. ix.

2. Prasad, pp. 1-4; Tuhfat-i-Rajasthan, pp. 244-245.

over a hundred years. The evidence of the Genealogical Table should, therefore, be rejected without a second thought if it is found to be conflicting with any other contemporary work. In the case of the date of the death of Bhagwant Das, Prasad has himself conceded that the date of Akbarnama should be accepted and the date of the Table rejected.

Undue reliance on the Genealogical Table and Vansawali has landed Prasad into further trouble. He had to search for reasons to explain the cause of the delayed coronation of Man Singh. According to the Table Bhagwant Das died on December 4, 1589, and Man Singh 'ascended throne' of Amber on February 14, 1590. Prasad, as always, has a ready explanation that it was quite likely that more than two months passed before Man Singh could get to Amber from Patna and the 'formal letter of Investiture could be obtained from emperor Akbar'. Prasad forgets that in his preceding paragraph he has rejected December 4, 1589 as the date of the death of Bhagwant Das and has accepted 13th or 14th November, 1589 as the true date of his death. He has to explain the reasons for the delay in his accession not by two months but by three months. Prasad's attempted mental acrobatics to solve the problem are a result of his pre-conceived notion about the gamindars like Raja Man Singh as being real Rajas exercising great authority and holding Durbars etc. If Prasad had known that it was not necessary for the ruler to 'ascend the throne' at the ancestral palace to become the Raja after his father's death, he would have avoided the mistake in introducing

the story of his coming to Amber from Patna. Prasad's interpretations have often conflicted with facts because he has examined each event and each source in isolation. When he writes that Man Singh came to Amber and the coronation ceremony was held with great pomp and splendour on February 14, 1590, he forgets to recall to his memory that in February, 1590, Man Singh was organising his forces at Patna for the conquest of Orissa. Abul Fazl, writing for the 35th year of Akbar's reign, writes, "When the province of Bihar had been settled by the ability of Raja Man Singh, and the refractory had been reduced to obedience, he at the close of the previous year (ending March 10, 1590) set before himself the conquest of Orissa".¹ It is obvious from the account of Abul Fazl that Man Singh, after making necessary preparations which would have taken sometime, left Patna for the conquest of Orissa at least towards the end of February, 1590. Thus, there is no possibility of Man Singh's attending the formalities of the coronation at Amber and rushing back to Patna between February 14 and the end of February. Abul Fazl also points out that Man Singh set off for the conquest of Orissa after he had 'reduced to obedience' the zamindars of Bihar and his son Jagat Singh had defeated the Afghans. Man Singh sent Akbar's share of the Peshkash which he had acquired from the big zamindars

1. A.N., ^{Vol. III} p. 579.

of Bihar and the booty which his son, Jagat Singh, got from the Afghans. The Peshkash arrived at Lahore on April 3, 1590.¹ Thus Man Singh was engaged in the suppression of the 'refractory' samindars in early 1590, and was not free to go to Amber for his coronation. Moreover, Abul Fazl further confirms that Man Singh came to Lahore in February 1594, to participate in the New Year's celebration on the request of the emperor. It is obvious from his account that it was the first visit of Man Singh to the Court after his appointment to the government of Bihar.² In view of the above discussion it can safely be said that the story of Man Singh's coronation at Amber on February 14, 1590, has no historical basis. With our present knowledge we can only say that Man Singh did not visit Amber before 1594. We do not know when he went to Amber. He reached Lahore on 23rd February, 1594, and was appointed governor of Bengal on March 11, 1594 and left for Bengal on 4th May 1594. Man Singh might have visited Amber on his way to Bengal.³

Prasad has indulged into a non issue debate on the question of the date of Man Singh's assumption of the Chieftainship of Amber. He is faced with reconciling three dates which his authorities have

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 576.

2. Ibid., pp. 641.

3. Ibid., pp. 648-649, 650, 651.

stated for his accession, i.e. 13th or 14th November, 1589 of Abul Fazl Fazl, 5th December, 1589 of Vansawali and 14th February, 1590 of the Genealogical Table. Prasad, as always, comes out with an interesting solution of reconciling the dates of Abul Fazl and Table. He discovers the 'Law of Primogeniture' which after the death of Raja, could automatically turn a kunwar into a raja. Armed with his discovery, he asserts that the 'Kuar became a Raja' on 13th or 14th November, 1589. While ignoring the evidence of Vansawali he suggests that 'the Kuar became a Raja' on 14th February, 1590, after he received the investiture from the emperor. Prasad's attempt to reconcile the conflicting dates is interesting but it is based on unreality. The concept of primogeniture is alien to Indian polity. Eldest son had more often succeeded the deceased king but the younger princes had hardly ever shown respect to this concept. Moreover, the Mughal government did not recognize the principle of automatic transfer of watn jagir to the eldest son of the deceased raja. It was the special privilege of the Mughal rulers to send tika (investiture) to any one they liked. Normally they did not interfere with the successions but they jealously reserved to themselves the right to recognise or derecognise the rulers of these states and there were occasions when this privilege was invoked and the claim of the eldest son, or his survivor, was set aside. The 'Kuar' could not become a Raja automatically until he was proclaimed so by the emperor. Prasad has not read with care the statement of Abul Fazl

dealing with the death of Raja Bhagwant Das and the grant of the title of raja and rank of 5000 to Man Singh. Unfamiliar with the style of Abul Fazl, Prasad has wrongly picked up the date of the death of Bhagwant Das i.e. 14th November 1589, as the date of the grant of the title of raja to Man Singh. Abul Fazl has discussed the death of Bhagwant Das in his account of November 26, 1589, when the news of the death of the Raja reached Akbar at Barikaab.¹ Abul Fazl adds that the emperor was grieved at the death of the Raja and gave the title of raja and a mansab of 5000 to Man Singh. Prasad's corrected date would thus be 26th November, 1589.

The debate on the date of Man Singh's accession is not meaningful but it must be acknowledged that Prasad has drawn the attention of the scholars to the existence of conflicting dates with regard to the assumption of chieftainship by Man Singh. The students of Mughal administrative practices may find this information useful to understand the problem of drafting and transmission of the imperial order with regard to the tika and the grant of mansab. If the information of Akbarnama, Genealogical Table and the Vansawali are put together interesting results may be obtained and a convincing story may be written. The story would be like

1. A.N. Vol. III, p. 570.

this that Raja Bhagwant Das died on November 14, 1589 at Lahore. In those days of slow means of communication, the news of his death took twelve days to reach Akbar, who was returning from Kabul. Akbar learnt about his death at Bariknab on 26th November. The same day i.e. 26th November, Akbar gave his title and the mansab to his eldest son, Man Singh. The news of the death of Bhagwant Das and the report about Man Singh's tika reached Ajmer on December 4, 1589. Since pargana of Amber was in the sarkar of Ajmer, the nazir sarkar Ajmer communicated the message to Amber the next day and the people and the pargana officers recognised Man Singh as the ruler of Amber on December 5, 1589. Similarly, Akbar must have ordered the diwan to prepare the farman, granting a rank of 5000 and the title of raja to Man Singh, on November 26, 1589. The final draft of the farman must have taken a long time because once the grant of mansab was ordered by the emperor an elaborate procedure followed. The royal order was sent to the diwan, the bakhshi and the sahab-i-taujih for inspection. The secretariats of these departments took their own time in drafting and verifying the farman. How soon the formalities were completed depended upon the resources of the grantee or his wakil. After the inspection by these ministries a kham farman was presented before the emperor. After the emperor had approved it for the second time, the formal appointment order was drawn up requiring the seals of various officers, specially the diwan and the bakhshi before it was issued under the seal of wazir.¹ Finally when the

1. Athar Ali, the Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, p. 60.

formal farman was ready, Akbar selected one of his ahadis to carry the farman, a special robe of honour and a horse for Man Singh, to Patna.¹ The drafting of the farman and the journey of the ahadi from Lahore to Patna took exactly three months and Man Singh was formally recognised the successor of Bhagwant Das on February 14, 1590. If the central secretariat could take such a long time for the despatch of Man Singh's farman how much time would ordinarily be needed for the minor officers.

4. MAN SINGH IN BIHAR AND BENGAL.

In December 1587, Man Singh left Lahore to take charge of the province of Bihar. We do not know when exactly did he take charge of the province. About the tenure of Man Singh as the governor of Bihar and Bengal, Prasad writes:

" There has been a good deal of confusion in the writings of the majority of modern writers on many points relating to Kuar Man Singh's governorship of Bihar. Some historians are of opinion that the Kuar was the governor of Bihar only for a short time but that of Bengal for a long time. V.A. Smith observes: "A little later, after his reputed father's death, the great Province of Bengal was added to his charge. Man Singh, who succeeded Bhagwan Das as Raja in 1589.....remained in charge of Bengal, with little interruption, until the closing days of Akbar's life, but resided for a considerable time at Ajmer, leaving the provincial administration in the hands of deputies.

"Probably Mr. Smith has followed Nizamuddin, the author of Tabakat-i-Akbari, who writes that the government of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna was conferred upon Man Singh in 996 A.H. or 1587 A.D. and then adds that in the 35th year of Akbar's reign, Raja Bhagwant Das having died, Kuar Man Singh, who held the government of Bihar and Bengal, was awarded the title of Raja.

"Abul Fasl has rightly assigned two periods for Man Singh's stay in Bihar and Bengal:

In Bihar : December, 1587 to March, 1594.

In Bengal: March, 1594 to 1602-1605.

"Man Singh remained in Bihar from December, 1587 to March 1594 i.e. for over seven years; then he was transferred to Bengal. He remained as the governor of Bengal from 1594 to 1602. In 1602, Akbar made over the provinces of Bengal and Orissa to Prince Salim and Man Singh was asked to report himself to the imperial Court. But Saleem refused to honour the command of the Emperor, and, therefore, Man Singh's tenure remained undisturbed. He continued to hold charge of the Subah of Bengal till 1605".¹

It is absolutely clear from the account of Abul Fasl and other writers, quoted above, that some kind of authority over Bengal was exercised by Man Singh ever since he was commanded to invade Orissa in 1590. The conquest of Orissa required the combined

1. Prasad, op. cit., p. 76.

resources of Bihar and Bengal. Saeed Khan, the governor of Bengal was asked to cooperate with him. Although the Khan did not cooperate with Man Singh but the jagirdars of Bengal like Pahar Khan, Babu-i-Mankali and Patr Das joined him with the artillery. Similarly in the second Orissa campaign Saeed Khan accompanied Man Singh but did not show any enthusiasm for the campaign still there were several officers of Bengal who separated themselves from him and joined Man Singh. In normal circumstances the officers of Bengal could not take the risk of being charged for insubordination. Since Man Singh was the leader of the Orissa expedition and the jagirdars of Bihar and Bengal were ordered to assist him, he naturally acquired a higher status than Saeed Khan, and these officers accompanied him without hesitation. Moreover in 1592 Man Singh allotted jagirs to several Afghans in the garkar of Khalifabad which meant that Man Singh had control not only on the officers of Bengal but also on its territory. Bengal came under the 'sphere of influence' of Man Singh in 1590 and he was formally transferred to Bengal in 1594.¹

On the authority of Sujan Rai Bhandari and De Lact, Prasad says that Man Singh got the rank of 5000 in 1581. Since he finds it difficult to disagree with Abul Fazl who says that Man Singh got the rank of 5000 on 26th November, 1589, his

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 570, 611, 632.

fertile imagination produces the still born idea of 'temporary mansab'. The mansab by its very nature was temporary. The emperor could increase the mansab of an officer as a reward or as the recognition of merit and he could also decrease the mansab as a punishment. In 1581, even Bhagwant Das, Man Singh's father, the head of the Kachhwaha clan, did not get the rank of 5000. He only got it in 1585.¹

With his imaginary dates, Prasad has so overburdened Man Singh with several activities in the months of February and March 1590, which include his visit to Amber, suppression of several zamindars and Saiyyeds of Bihar, that even if his supposed ancestor Raja Ram of Ayodhia had left his 'pushpak' for him, he could not possibly have accomplished them. Prasad writes:

"After the coronation was over, Raja Man Singh came to Bihar and engaged himself in establishing a firm and stable administration in the Subah. Mr. Blochman observes that at the time of the conquest of Bengal and Bihar by Akbar, there were three principal zamindars in the North Bihar, besides other minor ones in Shahabad, Chotanagpur and other areas of the South Bihar. These were:

1. Raja Gajpat of Hajipur.
2. Raja Purnamal of Gidhaur.
3. Raja Singram of Kharagpur.

1. Nizamuddin, ^{Vol. II,} p. 599, A.H., Vol. III, p. 457.

"Raja Man Singh, first of all, turned his attention towards Raja Puranmal of Gidhaur. The Gidhaur Raja, proud of his formidable mud fort, had shown a highly defiant attitude for some time past. Raja Man Singh led an expedition against him, captured his fort and took much plunder. Puranmal surrendered to the Raja and sought his protection. He presented several elephants and other precious articles. He also gave his daughter in marriage to Chandrabhan, a brother of Man Singh. Besides, local zamindars also married their daughters to the sons and brothers of Raja Man.

"Raja Man Singh next subdued singram Singh of Kharagpur in March, 1590 and was presented elephants and many other choice goods.

"The Raja returned to Patna in March, 1590. Soon he proceeded against Anant Cheros of the Gaya District in the Province of Bihar and brought them under control. Man Singh also subdued the Saiyyids of Sambhupuri of the Gaya District. Local tradition also affirms that there was a severe fight between the Raja and some Muslim chiefs of the locality in which the Imperialists were victorious. The Jainur Vansavali states that Raja Man Singh founded a new city on the other side of river Phalku (Phalgun) in Gaya town and named it 'Manpur' or 'the abode of Raja Man.

"The story of the contest between the Kachhwaha forces and the Muslim chiefs of Sambhupuri is further supported by circumstantial evidences. The Saiyyids, as the name indicates, were the Pathans

and they often rose in revolt as a protest against the religious policy of Akbar and also to checkmate his expansionist policy in the eastern provinces. The Bengal revolt of 1580 was a burning example in its support. Gaya with its suburbs was then the stronghold of the Pathans. It is quite possible that these powerful Muslim chiefs had revolted against the Mughal domination over Bihar and this forced Raja Man Singh to come in person to suppress the revolt.

"Raja Man Singh next crushed the opposition of Raja Gajapat of Hajipur and forced him to relinquish the chieftainship. The principality of Hajipur was annexed to the Mughal dominion.

"While the Raja was away suppressing the recalcitrant zamindars of Bihar, Kuar Jagat Singh, the eldest son of Man Singh did a commendable thing. He defended Patna against the heavy onslaughts of Bengal rebels. Sultan Quli Qalmaq and Kackana, two powerful sardars, advanced from Goraghat in Bengal and plundered the territories of Tajpur and Purnea and invested the city of Darbhanga. Farrukh Khan, the chief fief-holder of Darbhanga, found himself altogether powerless to resist the invaders. He fled to Patna and took shelter under the banner of the Kachhwaha prince. The situation was rather critical. Raja Man Singh was engaged at the time in rooting out disaffection in southern Bihar. The defence of northern Bihar was entrusted to the young Kuar. Kuar Jagat Singh faced the situation with tact and vigour. He marched

from Patna with a strong contingent against the invaders and when he came within fourteen miles of Hajipur, the Bengal rebels lost heart and fled away leaving behind much booty. The Raja on his return was pleased to hear of the valiant deeds of his young son, who was aged only 22 years. Raja Man Singh sent to the Emperor at Lahore a comprehensive report of the successful resistance of the Bengal invaders along with a portion of the booty which consisted of 54 elephants besides other valuable articles".¹

If we presume that a reasonably comfortable journey from Patna to Amber, which is more than a thousand kilometers, would take about a month and the return journey would also take about the same time, it would mean, if Prasad is to be trusted, that Man Singh learnt about the death of his father and his investiture in the second week of January 1590, and he immediately left for Amber where he reached on February, 14. He held his coronation darbar the same day. After a long and tiring march from Patna to Amber Man Singh must have stayed at Amber for at least a week. Thus, Man Singh would have left Amber for Patna in the third week of February and would have reached Patna about the end of March, 1590. Prasad writes that Man Singh came to Bihar after his coronation was over (end of March, 1590) and took steps to establish a firm and stable administration in the province and also made the refractory samindars submit to him and after their submission he

1. Prasad, pp. 79-81.

returned to Patna in March 1590. This would mean that Man Singh, in the Herculean style, accomplished the tasks of capturing the formidable mud fort of Gidhaur and humbling its raja, Parannal; of celebrating the marriages of his brothers and sons with the daughters of the local ganindars; of suppressing of Sangram Singh of Kharagpur and his returning to Patna - in a few days i.e. the last week of March 1590. Prasad places Man Singh's expedition against Anant Cheros and Jagat Singh's defence of Patna against the Afghans after these events which would mean that Man Singh was occupied in the expedition against Anant Cheros in the month of April 1590. Prasad also places the Orissa expedition in the same month. If Prasad is to be believed, Man Singh surpassed even Napoleon Bonapart in the rapidity of military movement. In attributing to Man Singh the completion of these tasks in such a short time, Prasad has surpassed even the bards of Rajputana.

The chronology of Man Singh's early exploits in Bihar can be constructed with a little exercise of imagination on the basis of contemporary accounts.¹ Man Singh left the Punjab to take charge of the province in December 1587, and reached Patna in early 1588. In the first year and a half he acquainted himself with the problems of the province and did not take military action against the 'refractory ganindars' till November 1589. If Man Singh

1. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 570, 576, 579.

had achieved anything substantial, Abul Fazl could have mentioned it when he referred to Man Singh in his account of November 26, 1589.¹ It can, thus, be safely presumed that he took the offensive against Purnamal, Sangram Singh and Anant Cheros towards the end of 1589, and brought them to submission by the end of January, 1590, and sent a part of the booty and plunder to Akbar which was placed before the emperor on April 3, 1590. Towards the end of March or early April 1590, Man Singh launched his Orissa campaign.²

On the basis of local tradition, Prasad has included the suppression of 'the Saiyyids of Sambhupuri' among the achievements of Man Singh in Bihar but the reasons he has cited for the inclusion of the story cannot be accepted by a sober student of Mughal history. One can only wonder at Prasad's ignorance when he writes, "The Saiyyids as the name indicates, were the Pathans and they often rose in revolt as a protest against the religious policy of Akbar....The Bengal revolt of 1580 was a burning example in its support". Prasad must know that Afghans and Saiyyids are not identical set of people and the people of Bihar did not 'often' revolt against the religious policy of Akbar, and the revolt of 1580 was not a religious revolt, and that there could not be any connection between the revolt of 1580 and 'the revolt of Saiyyids' at the time of Man Singh in 1590.

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 570.

2. A.N., Vol. III, p. 579.

After having set his province in order Man Singh decided to conquer Orissa. The invasion over Orissa was a major political decision. Man Singh must have received permission for it from Akbar. Selection of Man Singh to lead the invasion must have surely created bad blood between him and Saeed Khan, the governor of Bengal. Man Singh had served under him as a junior officer not long ago. Man Singh went by the Jharkand route and reached Bhagalpur and waited there for the arrival of Saeed Khan. The Khan advised the Raja to postpone the proposed invasion till the end of the monsoons but the Raja took a bold step and marched upon Orissa with the jagirdars of Bihar and a few jagirdars of Bengal who had separated themselves from saeed Khan. Man Singh continued his march and reached Bardwan. From there he sent a force against Qutlu Khan, the ruler of Orissa, under his son Jagat Singh. The Afghans defeated the young and inexperienced youth.

Prasad's account of the first five years of Man Singh's governorship of Bengal¹ is satisfactory but his account of Man Singh's visit of Agra and Ajmer suffers from some mistakes. He writes:

"The death of Isa Khan in September, 1599 further facilitated the plan of Raja Man of leaving Bengal. Isa Khan was the most turbulent Afghan leader whom Raja Man Singh had to face. He was the craftiest and the ablest of the contemporary Afghan chiefs of Bengal and it was at his hands that Durjan Singh, Raja Man Singh's

1. Prasad, pp. 90-96.

son, mentioned above, was killed. The Raja heaved a sigh of relief at the death of Isa Khan since there was no standing menace in Bengal. He, therefore, decided to keep himself away from the province of Bengal for some time."

"Raja Man Singh chose Ajmer as the place for his residence during the period of his rest. Ajmer was chosen because it was very close to Amber, his paternal State. The Raja was extremely busy with his conquests in Bengal and Bihar so that he could not give much attention to matters at home. Moreover, Ajmer commanded a central position in Rajasthan from where the Raja could feel the pulse of the whole of Rajputana and this also weighed with him when he took the final decision. Besides, the healthy and salubrious climate of Ajmer added further charm. But the most important reason for his decision to stay at Ajmer seems to be that the Raja wanted to remain near Agra to watch closely the development that was taking place in the imperial capital. Moreover, Salim resided in Ajmer and was engaged in hatching conspiracies for his accession to the Mughal throne. For this reason too, Ajmer was chosen by Raja Man Singh in order that he might keep himself in close touch with the movement of the rebel prince. Further, it is possible that the selection of the place was made on the recommendation of Akbar himself who wanted the Kachhwaha Raja to keep an eye on Prince Salim. Over and above all these reasons, there was another important reason for the selection of Ajmer as his place of rest by Raja Man Singh. He was aware of the fact that Salim did not enjoy the confidence of his father and as such the Kachhwaha Raja thought the opportunity to be suitable

for advancing the claims of his nephew, Khusrau, for the Mughal throne. For realizing this object, it was necessary for him to remain near Agra rather than be thrown out in far-off Bengal.

All these considerations weighed with Raja Man Singh when he chose Ajmer as his place of sojourn in the summer of 1599".¹

Prasad's contention that the death of Isa Khan in September 1599, facilitated the plan of Man Singh to leave Bengal is contrary to facts. Man Singh was already at Agra when Isa Khan died. Man Singh left Bengal after the death of Masoom Kabuli in May, 1599, and reached Agra in June, 1599.

Prasad must know that the Mughal officers did not enjoy the freedom of selecting places for their 'sojourn' outside the area of their jurisdiction. Nothing short of rebellion could set them free to go wherever they liked. The several considerations imagined by Prasad for Man Singh's stay at Ajmer are mere exercises in futility. Man Singh did not come from Bengal to stay at Ajmer nor did he intend to stay for long at the court. He had not made any long term arrangement for the administration of Bengal in his absence. The death of Isa Khan in September enabled him to stay a little longer. It was only in September, 1599, when he was posted against Rana Amar Singh that Jagat Singh was sent to officiate on his father's behalf in Bengal. The only consideration for Man Singh's stay at Ajmer in the uncomfortable company of Saleem was the emperor's order. With regards to Prasad's belief that Man Singh stayed with

1. Prasad, pp. 96-97.

Saleem at Ajmer 'for advancing the claims of his nephew, Khusrau, for the Mughal throne', only this can be said that in 1599 Akbar enjoyed robust health and the issue of succession was not an immediate problem. Moreover, no contemporary person could think by any stretch of imagination that Khusrau who was not yet in his teens could be considered as a potential candidate for the Mughal throne while Akbar's sons were still alive and active.

Jagat Singh who was appointed the deputy of his father in Bengal, died at Agra on October 6, 1599. It is very surprising that Akbar chose to send Maha Singh, son of Jagat Singh who was of a tender age, as the deputy of his grandfather¹ while many of his uncles were still in Bengal. His appointment suggests that Maha Singh was recognised as the successor of Man Singh. The young Maha Singh could not keep the Afghans suppressed and a great part of Bengal was lost to the empire. Even Pratap Singh, Man Singh's brother, who was appointed Maha Singh's guardian and who, for no reason is considered by Prasad as 'a general of repute and sufficient experience'² could not arrest the anti-Mughal tide in Bengal. The disturbed political situation brought Man Singh to Bengal. Man Singh had to struggle very hard to suppress the gamindars and the Afghans. By his strenuous military activity, Man Singh re-established the Mughal prestige in Bengal.³

1. A.N., Vol. III, p. 763.

2. Prasad, p. 98.

3. A.N., Vol. III, pp. 770, 784, 787-788, 808-809, 821, 824, 827.

Prasad has faithfully reproduced Akbarnama in his account of Man Singh's military movements in Bengal but at one place he has been misled by the brevity of the passage and excessive use of pronouns in Akbarnama. With regard to the attack of the Raja of Magh over the Mughal territory, Prasad writes that he attacked the Mughal fort Parmmohani whose commander Sultan Quli Qalmaq repulsed the attackers. Prasad further adds, 'Next the imperial fleet marched against Ahmad, another rebel of eastern Bengal. In this combat Sultan Quli Qulmaq was wounded and he fled from the battlefield'.¹ Prasad would have avoided the mistake of calling Ahmad, the loyal Kashmiri, 'another rebel of eastern Bengal' and the fleet of the Raja of Magh as imperial fleet if he had compared the English translation with the original text of Akbarnama or would have taken a clue from the text itself where Ahmad is mentioned as the brother of Yusuf Khan's wife, (ex-ruler of Kashmir). The Raja of Magh, unable to take the fort of Parmmohani, attacked another fort which was held by Ahmad. The latter could not hold himself against the raja, several of his Kashmiri soldiers died in the battle, he himself was wounded, and under the cover of darkness, he fled from the battlefield. The Raja of Magh thus encouraged, occupied several Mughal outposts. When Man Singh learnt about the Mughal setback he sent several officers against him and ultimately the Raja of Magh went back to his country.²

1. Prasad, p. 103.

2. A.N. Vol. III, p. 821. Prasad's account needs another correction. It was Ahmad and not Sultan Quli Qalmaq who was wounded and escaped by flight.

After his accession Jahangir declared general amnesty which also covered Man Singh and Khan Azam. Prasad is bewildered at the magnanimity of Jahangir. He writes:

"After his accession to the throne, Emperor Jahangir declared a general amnesty. Thousands of prisoners were set at liberty. This generous treatment was also extended to Raja Man Singh. He too was recipient of many honours and rewards. His governorship of the Subah of Bengal was renewed and he was directed to resume his charge at the earliest. This fact was considered so important by Jahangir that he mentions it in his Memoirs."

"Certain considerations, nevertheless, prevailed with me some time afterwards to reinstate Rajah Maun Singh in the government of Bengal, although he could himself have entertained no expectations of such a favour at my hands. I conferred upon him at the same time an honorary dress, or pellise, and a scimitar set with jewels, together with the horse Koukparah, the best in my thousand - ashrefi horse stables."

"The fact that Man Singh was forgiven and the subedari of Bengal was renewed to him has been further corroborated by the Khyat of Fathalpotha and Maasir-i-Jahangiri. The Khyat notes: "Man Singh, the Subedar of Bengal was given the rank of Panchah Sower (five thousand mansab) and was rewarded a bejewelled sword and a chaharqub, a horse and was sent to Bengal by Jahangir."

"At the outset it appears quite strange that Jahangir did did not take drastic steps against Raja Man Singh who had left no stone unturned to oust him from the Mughal throne. When we examine

the facts a little more closely, we come to the conclusion that Jahangir did it under force of circumstances. Raja Man Singh was the most outstanding personality of the Mughal Court. He was at the head of a strong Kachhwaha cavalry which was famous for its gallantry and chivalry. Besides, Jahangir had not as yet established himself firmly on the Mughal throne and it would have been inexpedient and unwise to remove and humiliate a powerful noble like Raja Man Singh. Moreover, the Raja had rendered immense services to the Mughal Empire and he was popular amongst the rank and file of the Mughal army. Therefore, Jahangir did not like to disturb the confidence of the army by quarrelling with him. The Mughal Emperor was conscious of the fact that in spite of his failure, Raja Man Singh shrank from solving the issue of succession by resorting to armed conflict. Had Jahangir done anything to harm the Raja, the latter would have openly backed up the cause of Khusrau and drawn the country in the vortex of civil war. Thus, Jahangir was guided by practical consideration. There was another reason for reinstating Raja Man Singh as the governor of Bengal. It is stated in a later work entitled 'Riyazu-s-salatin' that ever since Jahangir ascended the imperial throne at Agra he received information through official despatches and correspondences about the insurrection of Usman Khan in Bengal. Raja Man Singh who had earned a good deal of experience in Bengal affairs could be safely depended upon for suppressing the rebellion of the Afghan leaders, Usman Khan. The appointment of Raja Man Singh as the gubedar of Bengal was the result of mature deliberations and keen foresight."¹

1. Prasad, pp. 120-121.

It is well known to the students of Mughal political history that the policies of the Mughal emperors were not guided by personal vendetta. It was not Jahangir's fear of Man Singh's openly backing the cause of Khusrav and drawing the country in the vortex of a civil war but it was the general policy of the new emperor that extended to all the officers alike. Even those petty officers who had deserted him to join his father's service during his revolt were patronised by Jahangir.¹ Man Singh was not in a position to draw the country in the vortex of a civil war because he was completely isolated during those fateful days. The Shaikhawat Kachhwahas opposed the action of Man Singh and were prepared to measure swords with him if he decided to take military action.² Among the Rajawat Kachhwahas even his brother Madhava Singh seems to have joined the camp of Jahangir.³ Moreover, Man Singh could not take military action because many members of his family were either in Bengal or in the Deccan. In adopting magnanimity Jahangir followed the wise policy of his deceased father. However, Man Singh's confirmation in the governorship of Bengal had nothing to do with the information Jahangir received through 'official despatches and correspondences about the insurrection of Usman Khan in Bengal'.⁴ Jahangir's accession and Man Singh's appointment were almost simultaneous.

1. Tuzuk, English tr., Vol. I, pp. 13, 14.

2. Khayāt of Patalpothā vide Prasad, p. 116.

3. Risālāh Asad Beg, f. 30a.

4. Prasad, p. 121.